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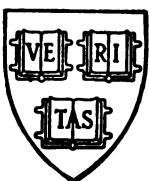
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SOCIAL LIFE

IN

ENGLAND AND FRANCE,

FROM THE FRENCH REVOLUTION IN 1789,

TO THAT OF JULY 1830.

BY THE EDITOR OF

MADAME DU DEFFAND'S LETTERS.

Mary Berry.

"All, all but truth, drops still-born from the Press."
POPE'S *Letter to Arbuthnot.*

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ations they suggest are more immediately interesting. But on the other hand it must be owned, that an endeavour to avoid suspected partialities, a fear of offending feelings, or of



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SOCIAL LIFE IN ENGLAND AND FRANCE.

CHAPTER I.

STATE OF SOCIETY IN ENGLAND AT THE PERIOD OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.—CHARACTER OF LUCIA, HER POLITICAL INFLUENCE.—THE PRINCE OF WALES, HIS BRILLIANT YOUTH AND EFFECT IN SOCIETY.—HORACE WALPOLE HAD MADE LITERARY AMUSEMENTS FASHIONABLE.—CONSEQUENCES OF THE IMPOSSIBILITY OF FOREIGN TRAVEL, FROM THE CONVULSED STATE OF EUROPE, ON THE YOUTH OF ENGLAND.—FINANCIAL DIFFICULTIES OF ENGLAND.—THE INCOME TAX.—INCREASE OF PRICES, AND DEPRECIATION OF MONEY.—THEIR EFFECTS ON SOCIETY IN GENERAL.

BEFORE the rapid and alarming progress of the French revolution had swept away every minor interest in its vast career, the rivalry of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox, on several important questions of internal policy, had roused a party spirit in England, and produced political divisions in

society, which had slumbered since the days of Queen Anne. The social world of London was split into two parties, who, to avoid unpleasant collisions, seldom met but in great assemblies ; where those who had violently attacked each other in the House of Commons half an hour before, could pass their adversaries with only a civil bow. The houses then were few, where, as in our calmer or more calculating times, all parties could unite in the pursuit of amusement.

In recording particulars of the social life of England about this period, a female character, whom the reader must receive under the name of Lucia, cannot be omitted,— placed as she was, by acclamation, on the throne of fashion, possessed of so many qualities which designated her for such a sovereignty, and so many which raised her superior to it.

Lucia appeared in the world before she was seventeen, in a situation pre-eminent in rank, in fortune, and in consequence. Nature had admirably assimilated her person and features to her mind and character. With the bloom of Hebe, and the air of Euphrosyne, she united to

the wild spirits of youth and innocence a heart overflowing with every virtuous affection, a mind capable of every cultivation, and an ardent admiration of every excellence.

Thus adorned, and thus endowed, she dawned on society at the moment when (as we have before observed) the national prosperity of England had a marked effect on the social habits of society. Every eye followed her, every heart beat at her approach; selfishness forgot itself in her presence, and avarice became liberal while under her influence; her every wish was anticipated, and her wishes were those of benevolence and intelligence. Thus surrounded by a flattering world, no wonder its illusions sometimes succeeded in carrying her benevolence beyond the limits of prudence, and sometimes in deceiving her intelligence in the choice of her associates: but they remained inefficient when attacking her unalterable love of truth — her admiration of genius — her protection of talents — and her appreciation of every thing that was really good and great in her age, in her country, and in human nature. Her habitual society consisted of all

those distinguished for wit, for talents, for intellect, and for situation. Her suppers were blamed only by those who were not admitted to them—by those who knew not that her good taste, as well as her principles, permitted no unbecoming levity on any subject, for the improper discussion of which neither wit nor rank were deemed an excuse ; and that the tone of her society was as perfectly proper, as if it had consisted of the dulles individuals who took upon them to censure her.

A young and brilliant Prince now animated society by his popular manners, his love of pleasure, and his taste for magnificence. Endowed by nature with every personal advantage, and possessed, in an eminent degree, of all the charms, as well as all the advantages, of youth, an education ill suited to his situation and prospects, and whose restrictions were enforced too long, sufficiently apologised for an immoderate pursuit of pleasure on his first emancipation. His generous sentiments, his social qualities, the warmth of his private friendships, and the liberality of his political opinions, conciliated all voices in his praise, and excited all hopes in the

promise of his maturer years. How he fulfilled the expectations of his country, and justified the opinions of his early friends, it is for the pen of History to record. To our work belongs only to recall his brilliant youth — the eclat of his fêtes, — the popularity of his character, and its effects on the society in which he lived. Many circumstances associated him with Lucia : the same love of gaiety and dissipation — the same taste for magnificence — the same political sentiments and friendships. Their intimacy was an honour to both. He treated her on the footing of a beloved and trusted sister, assuming no distinctions but those acquired by his amiability, nor exercising any exemption from the general tone of her society.

The court of the Heir Apparent was no less socially than politically in opposition to the ministry of the day. The gay, the lively, the fashionable, were marshalled on the one side, against power, place, and preferment on the other. Wit, as well as beauty, shone in the ranks of opposition. The mistakes, the peculiarities, and the ridicules of the ministry and their adhe-

rents — the amusements and society of the old court, were commented on in verses, the admirable wit and classical allusions of which might well have adorned more permanently interesting subjects. Horace Walpole had some years before introduced literary pursuits into the best company, and had led the way in familiarising and making fashionable a taste for the Fine Arts, which had almost ceased to exist during the reign of the two first Georges. Mr. Walpole's writings exhibited, for the first time, the lively language and views of a man of the world applied to dry subjects. He succeeded in inspiring a curiosity about artists, as well as about their works, and in interesting the vanity of his own caste in the literary merits of their ancestors. “The Castle of Otranto,” and “The Mysterious Mother,” which a celebrated English genius* has called “the first of our romances, and the last of our tragedies,” proved that antiquarian research, and historical disquisitions, were compatible with the liveliest imagination — with a conversation as singularly brilliant as it was original — and with epistolary talents which have

* Lord Byron.

shown our language capable of all the grace and all the charms of the French of Madame de Sevigné.—But the pen of the author is arrested by a fear, that suspected partiality should destroy confidence in this cursory mention of the character and of the accomplishments of a friend, so intimately known, so highly valued, and so deeply regretted.

The magnificent fêtes of the Prince, of which Lucia was sometimes the object, always the chief ornament,—the splendid diversions in which she was often the leader, were in fact all equally unnecessary to interest and amuse her unsophisticated mind. Those who saw her in the calm of the country, surrounded by her adoring children, and occupied with the various resources of her cultivated taste,—who witnessed the expression of all the warm and noble affections of her heart,—*they* best knew how to appreciate the real value of a character, which, unlike most others, was mistaken only by those who were determined to resist being captivated by it. That such a being paid the debt of suffering, too surely exacted from human nature,

none can doubt. That she was removed from these sufferings before age had attacked her feelings, or weakened the feelings which she inspired—those who thought the most highly of her, perhaps, the least regretted; although to *them* her loss has remained irreparable, her place unfilled, her charms unrivalled, her remembrance indelible.

The family to which Lucia belonged being one of those considered as at the head of the Whig interest, the situation in which she was placed, seconded by the charms of her character and person, gave her a party influence rarely before exercised by any woman in England. An enthusiast in the character of Mr. Fox, she was attached to his political principles by reason and by habit; and to his individual character, by a taste for all his accomplishments, and an indulgence for all his errors.

The success of a popular election, against the utmost efforts of a ministry, in a moment of great party violence, Mr. Fox owed entirely to the popularity, and to the irresistible attractions of Lucia. The triumph was at the moment great—was decisive—was intoxicating—was

what no other woman had before effected on so great a theatre as the metropolis. It was hailed by the one party, as a proof of the powers of her character and of her fascination ; and blamed by the other, as an improper and indequate abuse of both.

Better reasons may surely be given, than any that were then alleged on either side, against English women seeking political interference or distinction. When Lucia, with all her powers and all her means exerted to the utmost, only succeeded in carrying *one* election for the House of Commons ; poor must be the ambition of that woman, who, conscious of superior abilities, would willingly risk their exertions and their defeat, with no hope of more important consequences ! Let the political influence of women in England be exerted in the much more dignified and more efficient line of confirming and encouraging their husbands and brothers in every independent sentiment, and instilling into their children every liberal idea ; in soothing and obliterating the asperities of party feeling ; in watching over the interests

of those whose time is devoted to the interests of their country ; in being their faithful friends, and incorruptible counsellors, — fitting themselves, by the cultivation of their minds, and by all the graces and all the accomplishments of their sex, to aid, adorn, and give effect to any situation which their immediate connections may be called to fill. “ *Hæ tibi erunt artes.*” Let the rest be left to those whose minds are incapable of appreciating the real importance and appropriate distinction of their sex — who are satisfied with hearing themselves speak on subjects which their ignorance prevents them from being aware how little they understand — and who, like the fly on the wheel, believe they are aiding exertions, which their insignificance (unlike the fly) does not always prevent them from impeding.

Among the many evils arising to England from the disastrous state in which the French revolution had placed Europe, must be reckoned its influence on the character of our youth, by debarring them from all power of seeing various modes of social life, or living in any society but that of their own country.

Foreign travel, however incapable of supplying the wants of a neglected education, must surely be considered as particularly necessary to the developement of mind, in the inhabitants of an island. It is the more so, perhaps, to those of Great Britain, from a certain reserve and uncommunicativeness of character, partly proceeding from peculiarities of organization beyond our ken, and partly from a high appreciation of the political advantages to which they are born. So strongly are these impressed on every mind called into activity by cultivation, that it has been justly remarked, few Englishmen can bear an uninterrupted existence of many years in their own country, without acquiring a certain rust of prejudices, essentially detrimental to general superiority of character.

Little good could be effected by sending our young men, when they left their schools and colleges, to a country occupied, or a metropolis defended, by a British army ; where they lived as they did at home, but in worse and more idle society ; encouraging each other in false ideas, which they had no means to correct, and in bad

habits, which they had no opportunity to improve. Many of the most distinguished young men of that day bore the marks of an irreparable deficiency in their education. Those of lively parts, of highly cultivated minds, of much ambition, and a strong desire of distinction, had a certain lounging careless ease about their manners, which proved that they satisfied their own ideas of what those manners should be, when in fact they had no manners at all ; — a professed indulgence in every gratification ; — a study of little personal comforts, which more varied habits of life would have made them find unnecessary, and a more general acquaintance with the world ungraceful ; — a total absence of that appearance of interest in the pleasures and conveniences of others, which can alone interest others in theirs ; — a neglect of all general courtesy to women, of all those little friendly acts of protection, so becoming in the one sex, and so captivating to the other — attentions which the most manly and superior characters will always be found the first to bestow. Had our young men seen more of the world, however trifling, or however per-

verse it might have appeared to them, they would have been ashamed of what might be called the *homeliness* of their manners; their ideas of an accomplished gentleman would have been more just, and their attempts at the character more successful. The sneers, which they were apt to bestow liberally on the little peculiarities and mistakes of others, would then not have been due to themselves from the more enlarged minds and better manners which theirs offended. Nor were these manners confined to the young men of high rank, or heirs to great estates, whom we may suppose to have been confirmed in their ignorance and neglect of others by the attentions of the women who wished to marry them, or by the flattery of the men who hoped to live on them. Even those whose success in life depended on pleasing, and whose birth and situation, in any other country, would have taught them the necessity of it — those whose talents and whose wit was to be their only passport to the society they sought, professed the same super-eminent love of indulgence, and the same necessity of personal comforts and

gratifications. Their conversation and social powers partook of all the evils attending the contracted sphere of their ideas and observation. A ludicrous image of some familiar object, or the ridicule of some little national peculiarity, was all they attempted. Luckily their talents and their taste, such as they were, suited for the most part those of their audience; which (as Champfort has justly observed) forms the success of half the books and of half the characters in the world. Their own ignorance happily secured them from being aware of the light in which they were considered by those whose character and manners had not suffered under the same disadvantages as their own.

The causes which are here enumerated, as having been essentially disadvantageous to the young and the idle, were acting in an opposite sense on our military population, and on all those actively employed in the public service. Our navy not only acquired new fame by their unexampled exploits, but its leaders, and indeed the whole corps of its commanding officers, were often called upon, from the nature of their dis-

tant service, to take active political measures, and decided steps, on a variety of occasions, which could neither be foreseen in their orders, nor provided for by their government. In the course of their long warfare in all quarters of the globe, they were often obliged to act as ambassadors in foreign courts — to protect, in their military capacity, the persons of princes — to represent their sovereign, on many occasions of ceremony — and to meet and treat with statesmen hardened in the ways of the world ; thus opposing the frank and downright character of a British seaman to all the arts of courts, and all the tricks of diplomacy.

From this severe but efficient school arose characters, as refined in their manners, as accomplished in their minds, as generally well-informed of the great interests of Europe, as they were unrivalled in the knowledge and conduct of their arduous profession. The political subterfuges of their enemies often fell as harmless on their unsophisticated understandings, as the billows of the ocean on the planks of their ships. Thus a Maitland, when the great culprit of Europe

most unexpectedly sought his protection, received him with every respect due to his genius and to his misfortunes, but with such a clear and frank declaration of the terms on which that reception could alone take place, as defied all the arts of prevarication and finesse to mistake. From this school, too, arose a Collingwood, who, in spite of age, of impaired health, and of fond attachment to domestic life, pertinaciously kept the sea for more than three uninterrupted years after the death of the immortal Nelson, and maintained the sovereignty of the Mediterranean for his country. His Life and Letters have since proved that his understanding was not less acute and intelligent, nor his political views less sound, than his arm had been efficient in every combat in which he was engaged. A crowd of other names attached to brilliant achievements here force themselves on the remembrance. The author has selected these two only, as having been accidentally thrown into remarkable situations, the difficulties of which did not naturally arise from their profession, and consequently for which they might have been supposed ill-prepared.

The army, since the inglorious end of the inglorious war against American independence, had been considered as a resource for those who had no pecuniary means of choosing another way of life; an idle occupation for the idly disposed in the beginning of their career, to be abandoned in maturer years, not as a permanent profession, to be pursued at the peril of life, and the sacrifice of ease and personal indulgence. The long duration of the Revolutionary war with France; the continental nations having fallen successively under her dominion; the threats of invasion; the absolute necessity of calling forth all the powers of the country in its own defence; and, above all, the great military characters which at last arose in its ranks, infused a new spirit into our youth, and opened visions of glory and distinction to their view. Their opposition in arms with other nations, more habitually military than themselves; their long warfare in the Peninsula, which was for some time more distinguished for obstinate valour than for conquest; prepared them for the brilliant career of the great Captain, who led

them from repeated victories to the memorable combat which sealed for ever their reputation, his own glory, and the independence of Europe.

In the progress of all these combined circumstances, the military profession in England assumed a new character. An appropriate education and studies were found necessary to distinction in it. The severe service in which every corps of the army had partaken, in which the Guards, previously quartered, for the most part, in the metropolis, had particularly distinguished themselves both by discipline and by valour, proved the life of a soldier to be no longer a retreat for the idle, but a profession to be actively cultivated and unweariedly pursued.

The gigantic but ill-directed financial exertions of England, in her repeated unsuccessful coalitions against France, during the first twelve years of the revolutionary war, was felt in every fibre of the social body.

The imposition of the income tax was odious to the nation, although to the unassisted eye of reason it appears the fairest mode of taxation

that can be adopted, when the sacrifice of the tenth part of the income of a nation becomes unfortunately necessary to save the rest ; it laid open the affairs of every one, in a manner peculiarly obnoxious to English habits. The whole system of our commercial prosperity being grounded on credit, much aversion exists to exposing the individual foundation on which it rests. This has given to all Englishmen habits of reserve on the subject of their financial means, habits often leading to very false estimations of character ; the rich always being thought much richer than they are, and consequently often stigmatised with want of liberality ; and the possessors of smaller fortunes, by the same miscalculation, arraigned for extravagance, of which they are, in fact, not guilty.

The operation of the income tax discovered many curious sources of unexpected wealth, and laid open many still more curious traits of national character in the acquirement and in the use of it. Persons trafficking in stalls, or small shops, actuated by that strict sense of honesty which had probably been the foundation of their

success, gave in incomes of 4000*l.* and 5000*l.* a year ; and paid, with scrupulous exactness of calculation to Government, yearly sums four times greater than any they had ever expended on themselves. The same inquisitorial process injured many brilliant commercial reputations, and stopped many in a dangerously rapid pursuit of fortune. In general, the whole body of retail dealers, who, contrary to the ideas and habits of other countries, had been accustomed to see every additional tax, and the weight of all public burdens, fall on their customers, and not on themselves, endured, with less patience than any other order of people, the privation of indulgencies to which they had accustomed themselves. They, therefore, so increased the price of every article of their commerce, as at once to secure to themselves the same indulgencies and the same profits ; thus eluding all contribution to the public necessities, at the expense of the consumers. The immense influx of paper money, from the year 1797, having raised the nominal price of every thing, and the spirit of our government being adverse to all interference with

internal policy, allowed this manœuvre of the retail dealers to pass unnoticed. It is to these times that must be referred the great demoralisation, on the score of fair-dealing with their employers, which has taken place in this whole order of people. The large fortunes acquired in the public funds, the improvident expenditure necessarily entailed by war, and the carelessness of those who profited by it, allowed of a sort of reciprocity in the imposition of exorbitant charges, which has been since established into a regular system, instead of having ceased with the disastrous times which gave it birth.

The equality of political rights seemed to bestow an equality of rights to every indulgence of expense ; a degree of fortune, something like opulence in any other country, being absolutely necessary to a social existence in England. This rivalry in luxury was by no means favourable to the interests of society. As nobody chose to give a worse dinner than their neighbour, many a social meal was prevented among those endowed with every power to enliven them, and many a dull dinner, with all its expensive accom-

paniments, devoured at the table of a still duller host, by those, who would have fled from the infliction of the same society if offered with a mutton chop. Many a tattered reputation was pieced together on the reputation of their cook, and airs of superiority claimed and allowed on the same flattering and respectable pretensions.

Meanwhile, our navy supported the honour of our country, and our commerce its means of existence. Our triumphs on the sea equalled those of the common enemy on the land. In spite of every arbitrary measure which despotism could dictate, and violence enforce,—in spite of blockades and restrictions,—our commerce and our manufactures contrived to alleviate, in some degree, the evils of war to all those engaged in it, and to supply the means of defence to ourselves.

It was, perhaps, well for Europe that the intellect of Bonaparte on commercial subjects, and on all great views of political economy, was remarkably deficient. One of the most enlightened persons employed by him in these matters,

and his devoted advocate and admirer*, assured the author, that he had had difficulty to make him comprehend even the axioms which lay on the surface of these subjects, and gave, as an instance, his never having been able to convince him that gold and silver could have any real value whatsoever but as a token of exchange ; adding, that had his understanding been as deep, and his views as clear, on these subjects as on all others, he would certainly have possessed one of the greatest intellects ever called to the government of men.

Whatever may be thought of this opinion, it is certain that Bonaparte, against his intentions, has been the means of affording to future ages the most decisive and incontrovertible proof of what may be effected by civil liberty, — by a representative government, interesting all orders of the state in its preservation ; for we may be well assured, that after all the errors, and all the failures, and all the mistakes of the moment are forgotten, England having defended herself

* M. Rœderer.

single-handed against Europe, united under *such* an adversary, will be held up to the latest posterity as a bright example to other states, who must endeavour, by securing the same means of defence, to secure their permanent independence.

CHAP. II.

PRESSURE OF THE PUBLIC BURDENS NECESSITATING ECONOMY IN EVERY ORDER OF THE STATE. — ITS EFFECTS ADVANTAGEOUS TO SOCIETY. — STATE OF THE NATIONAL THEATRE FROM THE DEATH OF GARRICK. — MRS. SIDDONS. — KEMBLE. — EFFECTS OF THEIR TALENTS AND THEIR PERSONAL CHARACTER ON THE PUBLIC AND ON THEIR PROFESSION. — SLOW PROGRESS OF TASTE IN ENGLAND. — PROFESSORS OF THE FINE ARTS NOT ADMITTED INTO COMPANY TILL LATE IN THE REIGN OF GEORGE III. — BURKE'S ESSAY ON THE SUBLIME AND BEAUTIFUL. — MR. PAYNE KNIGHT. — MR. PRICE. — SIR GEORGE BEAUMONT. — TRAVELLERS TO GREECE. — LORD BYRON. — JOANNA BAILLIE. — DRAMATIC ENTERTAINMENTS NEGLECTED PREVIOUS TO THE FALL OF BONAPARTE. — CONDUCT AND SENTIMENTS OF ENGLAND AT THIS TIME.

ONE of the great constitutional advantages of England being that of having no marked and indelible line of separation between the different orders of the state ; all her citizens having it equally in their power, by industry, by activity,

and by intellect, to rise upwards in the scale; the pressure of the public burdens, during this period, and the depreciation of money, fell peculiarly hard on those who, having achieved a step in the hierarchy of society, found themselves by their increased expenses, and their stationary means, thrown back to the situation from whence they had risen, or at least quite unable to secure to their children their acquired station in life. Many of those whose birth entitled them to every indulgence of affluence, found themselves cruelly straightened by the public calls on their property. All those living on annuities, or fixed salaries, who had every thing to purchase and nothing to sell, were every succeeding year deprived of some accustomed comfort. Instances of economy, unknown before in the classes adopting them, were professed and boasted of; many of these remain permanent habits, for the practice of which every one is the better, now that the occasion is forgotten. Few of the great landed proprietors could afford to occupy their residences in the country, accompanied by all the expenses, and all the largesses which were expected

to surround them. The public places of summer resort were filled with persons who left palaces in their counties, to occupy crowded and inconvenient lodgings at Tunbridge or at Brighton, not from preference, but from poverty ; many of their inmates generously preferring a suppression of the enjoyments of their own country houses, to that of the charities they had been in the habit of distributing there. Others gave up their annual visit to London, and let, or endeavoured to part with, their houses in town ; but the purchasers were so few, that the only chance of lessening the charge of a house, not inhabited by its owner, was letting it furnished ; and from this time only, dates the now univeral custom, even among opulent individuals, of letting their unoccupied houses in London. To this period likewise, namely, to that of the heavy taxation caused by the war, may be referred the great families of England getting rid of a crowd of useless retainers, unnecessary carriages, unemployed sets of horses, and all those appendages of riches, which, without contributing to the comforts or luxuries of their owners, were for

merly considered as part of *the state* of an English nobleman. Such things still exist among the great of other countries, but in England they are extinct. From the moment that servants, carriages, horses, &c. became objects of taxation, every one began to consider with how many he could dispense ; and nobody has retained a greater number than (considering his situation in life) he can fairly make use of. Such limitations have caused establishments in general to be better appointed than they were in the days of our ancestors, when numbers were the principal criterion of magnificence.

The same necessary retrenchments in the scale of expense became evident in the diminished number of costly entertainments, of public breakfasts, of balls accompanied by suppers, which none but the rich could give, and none but the great had hitherto thought of giving. Riches, however, accumulating in the commercial and manufacturing orders of the state, the great were soon imitated and rivalled by those whose wealth was more independent of the situation of the country, and which, in many instances, was

augmented by it; the whole commerce of Europe, by the distraction of the times, having been forced into our hands. These persons now came forward in society. To the young and dissipated they offered entertainments they could no longer afford themselves, for no other remuneration than the honour of receiving them in their houses, and being in return admitted into their society. They succeeded in obtaining the first part of the reward with a facility not honourable to those who were so little willing to grant them the second. Hence arose fêtes and entertainments, where the masters of the house were strangers to three fourths of the company, who were all invited by some fashionable friend, willing thus to give a ball to her *own* acquaintance at the expence of her complaisant protégée. Strange mistakes sometimes took place at these meetings, from the ignorance of the guests of the person of their host, and demands for refreshments made in a tone of authority to him who paid for them, mistaken and addressed as the individual hired to administer them.

But the more refined and better thinking part

of society soon found that the crowded meetings, and expensive entertainments, which economy had at first made them relinquish, were, in fact, far from contributing to the cultivation of society; that, on the contrary, they incapacitated those constantly frequenting them from any power of enjoyment in smaller circles, while the constant frequenters of these crowds were all reduced to the same undistinguished level of abilities. General invitations were, therefore, left to a few great houses, whose space admitted of a thousand or fifteen hundred guests without internal inconvenience, and whose owners preferred thus acknowledging an acquaintance, and paying wholesale a debt of civility, to retailing out their time, and individualising their attentions to half the town. All those who, in imitation of their superiors, had hitherto crammed small houses half a dozen times a year with as many card tables, and with more people than they could hold, now affected to despise card-players, to hate great assemblies, and to talk of nothing but the charms of small parties, and of conversation; although the previous habits of few, at this time,

had qualified them for the real enjoyment of either. A few years afterwards, a public meeting for dancing was established, which, although originating in necessary economy, by the good taste and by the popularity of its institutors and directresses, soon rose to distinction and celebrity. An admission to it became a sort of necessary licence to practise in the best company, while its expense was not the tenth part of any former fêtes prepared for the same society, and the price of admission too low to exclude the most attenuated finances. All those who thought that by their own former entertainments they had purchased the freedom of the company to which they were ambitious to belong, now found themselves cruelly thrown out; for in a country where no bar exists between any order of society, exclusions, like blockades, will inevitably take place, whenever the power of any portion of individuals is sufficient to enforce the one, or to establish the other. Thus, parties in our society, like parties in our political state, will always exist, and will serve, in both instances, to keep the ruling powers in order, and to animate the

exertions and cultivate the talents of those who have hopes of one day succeeding to their distinction.

The stage, and a taste for dramatic entertainments, had declined in England since the death of Garrick, in 1779. This great actor had been equally distinguished in both walks of the drama ; Equally excellent in the expression of the sublime conceptions of Shakspeare, in the representation of the humourists and originals of Ben Jonson, or in catching up and embodying every evanescent fashion of the day. By his social liveliness and wit, his agreeable manners and respectable conduct, he had been received a welcome guest in the best company. As a dramatic writer, his pieces, although not of the first order of comedy, yet assisted by his own acting, and by his consummate knowledge of the theatre, raised him to consideration in the ranks of literature. By his prudence and good conduct he became the proprietor of the first theatre in the metropolis, and acquired an opulence, of which he made an honourable use. In his villa at Hampton, and at his house in the Adelphi,

he received not only the best company of his own country, but all distinguished foreigners, who sought his acquaintance with eagerness from the fame of his talents, and to whom his social existence was then, a matter of curiosity.

After his death, the first event which reanimated the theatre over which he had presided, was the success of the comedies of Sheridan, and particularly the remarkable popularity of the “School for Scandal,” first exhibited when its author was already a political character, and an admired speaker in the House of Commons. This piece rallied back, not only the enlightened public, but the world of fashion, to the national theatre; encouraged men of the world to attempt dramatic composition; and produced some good comedies of character, which, if they had not much of the wit of their great comic predecessors, had at least none of their coarseness. General Burgoyne’s “Heiress” was a faithful transcript of the manners of the day, and served for ever to stamp the fame of the *first*, and hitherto of the *last*, actress (1) in the highest

(1) Miss Farren, afterwards Countess of Derby.

walk of comedy, who has adorned the English stage since the days of Colley Cibber.

Mr. Walpole's "Mysterious Mother," although not published, was already in the hands of many; and, in spite of the unfortunate choice of subject, which for ever precluded representation, had astonished by its terrible conception, vigorous verses, and forcible effect.

Theatrical entertainments, and the encouragement and protection of theatrical talents, now became a fashion, and an interest in the first society in London. The plays acted by a part of that society at the Duke of Richmond's in 1785 and 1786 were at once an effect and a cause of this fashion. The first artists were employed to decorate the little theatre, constructed in the dining-room of Richmond House, at Whitehall. (1) Persons not less distinguished by their talents, than by their birth and situation, filled the parts. Mrs. Siddons and Miss Farren, no unworthy representatives of the Tragic and Comic Muse, assisted at these performances; and such was the interest taken in

(1) Afterwards consumed by fire.

them, and such the eagerness to be admitted to them, that a motion in the House of Commons was actually postponed, to allow Mr. Pitt (then the first minister) to be present at one of the representations.

A far more essential cause of permanent illustration to dramatic art in England was already in activity. The great female tragedian, who was destined to raise to an unexampled height not only her own fame, but to establish on a new basis that of her profession, who had appeared in early youth, unnoticed, in some subaltern parts before the death of Garrick,—Mrs. Siddons,—now burst on the London world in the full bloom of her beauty, the full force of her feelings, and the full exercise of her excellent understanding and taste. The effect was marvellous. All orders of society bowed to the impression made on feelings common to their nature. All public entertainments became insipid in comparison of the scenes of Shakespeare, represented by such a form, animated by such expression, and interpreted by such a judgment. Fashion, and the contagious feelings

of great crowds, so exalted those of the female world, that few representations took place without interruption, from the uncontrolled emotion of some of the audience obliging them to leave the theatre.

The Universities, and all the distinguished clubs of London, offered her, by deputation, the homage of their united admiration of her conduct and of her talents; often accompanied by more essential marks of their favour, in a common purse, presented as some remuneration for the pleasure received from her art.

The endowments of her brother, who had profited by a college education intended to have fitted him for a learned profession, gave him great advantages in that which an irresistible impulse led him to adopt, guided him in effecting many necessary and important improvements in the costume and arrangements of the theatre, qualified him for an accurate critic in theatrical language and literature, and soon made him the companion and intimate of all the contemporary men of letters who were at all interested in the drama.

The professional excellence of this accomplished brother and sister, when acting together, and sometimes representing characters where their strong family resemblance heightened the illusion, will be long remembered by all those who had the advantage of seeing, in the zenith of their powers both moral and physical, their unequalled representations of the immortal dramas of Shakspeare.

All the best tragedies of the English theatre received a new lustre by their means, and many acquired a celebrity which they hardly merited, from the interest lent them in representation. Thus, while their great talents, joined to remarkable personal beauty, gave a new vogue to the theatre, and recalled all the world to dramatic entertainments, the propriety of their conduct, and the respectability of their private characters, placed their profession on a footing which it had never before attained either in our own, or any other country. All the first company in London, as regarded rank, talents, or situation, opened their doors to them. They were received on a footing of equality and of respect due to their

accomplishments, and which the unaltered propriety of their manners amply justified. The suppers given by Kemble were frequented and sought after by all who were distinguished in society, as well as by all who pretended either to wit, or talents, or even to their due appreciation.

The personal consideration thus acquired by irreproachable conduct and honourable bearing insensibly raised the tone of feeling throughout the whole profession. Purity of conduct was no longer considered as incompatible with it. The stage ceased to be either the school or the refuge of female profligacy. Men of better education and prospects adopted a profession which no longer led necessarily into bad company.

These advantages,—and advantages they certainly were of no mean description, as having led the way to honourable distinction, are entirely owing, or at least entirely originated with the influence and the example of the family of Kemble, which in all its branches connected with the theatre, has exhibited a rare union of talents and of worth.

An inconvenience has been said to arise, from having thus removed all stigma from the character, and destroyed all prejudices against the profession of persons, otherwise likely, from their talents, to be endued with great powers of captivation, — the increased number of unequal marriages which have since been contracted with actresses. But this, it must be allowed, argues at least as great an improvement on the one side, as any dereliction of noble sentiments on the other. Indeed, before the time here alluded to, much laxity of moral conduct and sentiments had prevailed among the professors of the fine arts, and among those artists in any way connected with the ornamental luxuries of society.

The unvarnished etiquette, and German homeliness of the courts of the two first Georges, having followed immediately on the dulness of Anne and the unsociable moroseness of William, had materially influenced and retarded the progress of any taste for the fine arts in England ; or any desire of those elegant luxuries of private life, to which the arts contribute, and which alone, when

combined with them, give a zest and a variety to the indulgences of wealth.

The first persons who interested themselves on these subjects, and showed themselves sensible to domestic improvements, had, almost all, either from accident or necessity, lived much out of their own country, and had brought back with them a taste for certain habits of life to which they had been accustomed elsewhere. Any adoption of these habits was stigmatised by all intolerant lovers of their own country, who sturdily withstood every thing leading to a supposition that either comfort or merit could exist out of its precincts. Coarse, plain, uncompromising manners were received as the type of good principles and of integrity of conduct, and all refinements of taste as proofs of corruption of morals. The smallest innovations in domestic arrangements were looked on with an evil eye, as to the independent character of such as adopted them.

No man intending to stand for his county, or desirous of being popular in it, would have permitted his table at his country-house to be

served with three-pronged forks, or his ale to be presented but in a tankard, to which every mouth was successively to be applied. Sofas conveyed ideas of impropriety ; and oaths, and every extra attention to cleanliness and purity of person, were habits by no means supposed to refer to superior purity of mind or manners. Evil to him whose constitution or sedentary habits prevented his following field sports. A taste for music or painting, or any disposition to cultivate either, was enough to destroy a man's character among his country neighbours, or in his county club in London. He was set down for a *humourist* or a *fribble*, incapable and unworthy of the manly pleasures of wine and vulgar debauchery, in which his detractors indulged with perfect self-satisfaction, and much credit among their associates.

Except as a rendezvous for female profligacy, every thing that had to do with the theatre, or the public exhibition of any talent, was peculiarly obnoxious to the morality of these homebred censors. Authors, actors, composers, singers, musicians, were all equally considered as profli-

gate vagrants. Those whose good taste, or whose greater knowledge of the world, led them to make some exceptions, were implicated in the same moral category.

A very numerous body of people were thus excommunicated from all respectable society in their own class, as well as from that of the classes above them, without being rewarded, as they were in France, by fashion restoring them to the social consideration of which the institutions of their country deprived them. The lively feelings and excitable minds which a genius for the imitative arts almost necessarily supposes, remained thus in constant contact with other minds as excitable, and feelings as little under control, as their own. We can hardly wonder, therefore, at the lax education, and absence of all wholesome restraint, to which this whole class of persons were exposed. Of this a late biography furnishes a remarkable example, in recording details of the early youth of two families both distinguished for talents ; the consequences of this want of control on their first steps in life, and the influence it maintained over the whole future existence of two of

the most favoured individuals of those families, whose fate was united(1), and whose extraordinary endowments soon raised them to every social distinction of which either were capable.

It was not till late in the reign of George III. that sculptors, architects, and painters (with the single exception of Sir J. Reynolds) were received, and formed a part of the best and most chosen society of London. Three Scotch brothers, of the name of Adam (and of a family since distinguished both by worth and abilities in every order of the state), after a long professional study of architecture in Italy, on their return to the exercise of their art in England, first applied the internal ornaments of the ancient apartments (then lately discovered at Rome and at Pompeii) to the decoration of London drawing-rooms. The application was bad ; the taste minute and faulty — calculated for no room larger than a

(1) Miss Linley, married to R. B. Sheridan. See the account of the circumstances attending their previous acquaintance in "Moore's Life of Sheridan." Miss Linley seems, on every occasion of her after life, to have been almost equal in natural abilities, and superior in every quality of the heart, to her husband.

bath, and that in a warm country, where all hangings and paper were to be avoided. But their substitution of the Greek fret, the honeysuckle, the husk, and other ornaments of graceful contour, instead of the non-descript angular flourishes, which every thing susceptible of decoration, from a snuff-box to the front of a house, had hitherto indiscriminately shared, was an approach to something like truth. Burke's Essay on the Sublime and Beautiful, although faulty in its reasonings, and fanciful in their application, was marked by the enthusiastic mind of its author; and served to rouse, some years afterwards, a spirit of profound investigation into the principles of taste in all the imitative arts, and their application to the embellishment of social life.

The subject was taken up by persons whose education and habits of life and of reading, as well as their own existence in society, peculiarly fitted them for such enquiries. In their writings, it allowed them to establish a sort of *bill of rights* in taste, which it will be found difficult to improve, while it adapts itself to every wholesome liberty and innovation of original genius.

An amicable contention between Mr. Payne Knight and Mr. Uvedale Price, on the illusory powers of imagination, elicited, on both sides, proofs of great knowledge, as well as of much thought and combination, on the subjects they treated ; while their friend Sir George Beaumont's candid mind and enthusiastic feelings were called forth in every walk of art, and were eager in the protection and encouragement of every rising excellence. As a landscape painter, " his own example strengthened all his laws." His works remain distinguished among those of professional artists ; and the remembrance of his mind, his genius, and his character, among our strongest feelings for departed excellence.

From this time the principles of taste, on all subjects amenable to its laws, were sought, understood, and followed. As the political circumstances of the day precluded all access to Italy, our travellers and our artists poured into Greece, and there beheld at their source those models of art which the Romans had never equalled, and had often disfigured. The architecture (misnamed Gothic) was, meanwhile,

studied and cultivated by artists at home, who soon convinced others, as well as themselves, that, when applied appropriately, it was capable of assuming every character of domestic purpose ; was, of all other styles of building, the best suited to the habitations of a northern country and a bad climate ; and lent itself to every graceful and picturesque combination with English landscape. Thus, we have since seen arise many magnificent castellated mansions ; many additions made to humbler monastic remains, which, without any outward incongruities, possess every modern comfort of internal arrangement, and are peculiarly capable of every richness of ornament.

The common link which is said to unite all the fine arts * soon touched the lyre of Joanna Baillie and of Lord Byron, and amazed a busy and calculating world with bursts of original pathos and poetry, worthy of the more poetic ages of society, and recalling all the great models which had adorned them.

* “ *Habent inter se quodam commune vinculum.*”

The Muse of the one possessed a strength and vigour of wing, which would have soared to any height, had it not been repressed and recalled to earth by foolish professions of profligacy, and a vain idea of rising above his age and his fellows, by treating as illusion and prejudice every thing the most real and stable in our moral existence. The other, born *a Poet* in the truest and most exalted sense of the word, from her sex, situation, and limited acquaintance with the world, and still more from a diffidence in her own vast powers, has not allowed them a sufficiently extensive field on which to exercise their magic. The retired nature and virtuous habits of women confine their observation of human life and passion within a much smaller circle than that always open to man. If Joanna Baillie, therefore, in her exquisitely portrayed characters of excellence and of virtuous feeling, sometimes betrays an unwillingness to step into the dominion of vice, and to encounter the storm of violent and degrading passions, Lord Byron by choice, and perhaps by his long preference for Eastern subjects, has also given a sameness to

many of his heroes, and reduced all his heroines to one model. They are all fond females, clinging to a protector, without the smallest discrimination, or opinion, or even curiosity, as to the character or situation of the man to whom they are attached ; and this with a boldness of sexual passion, which not all the author's delicate and admirable descriptions of their personal beauty can at all conceal. He never calls in the associations, sentiments, and feelings, founded on individual choice, admiration of excellence, and comparative merit. He equally neglects the combats between duty and love, in minds capable of appreciating the one, and of exalting the other from desire to passion ; to say nothing of parental affection, and the yet more sublime, because more perfectly disinterested, sacrifices of friendship. He confines himself to paint women as the mere females of the human species, who, except that they share with man, "that paragon of animals," superior personal beauty, are described as little distinguished from the females of any other animals ; inspire the same sort of blind and furious passion to those of the other

sex ; are treated with little more ceremony while together ; and are left as easily, in quest of prey or of revenge.

Who but must regret to find Lord Byron's Muse thus fettered, instead of having taken advantage of subjects that would have opened an inexhaustible field to her various powers ? — for who can doubt the variety of those powers, when reading the exquisite and exalted descriptive poetry scattered over all his works — always associating the scene he describes with the most invigorating sentiments of the human mind ?

That he, who so felt and so described these sentiments, and all the power, and all the terror, of conscience and of memory on the spiritual being of man — that he should have doubted of that spiritual being, of which his own energetic verses must confirm the belief to his readers, and the feelings that dictated them ought to have assured himself — that he should have excluded himself from the most powerful source of the sublime, as well as from much of the beauties of sentiment, — must astonish those

the most, who the most admire the poetic heights he has attained without such aid.

During the long struggle of the revolutionary war, dramatic entertainments seemed to have again lost much of their attraction. The great drama then acting in Europe superseded all imaginary interests, and rendered insignificant all fictitious adventures. The astonishing progress, elevation, and fall of the Conqueror, and the desperate chances which hung on his fortunes, exceeded all poetic fancy, and outstripped the imagination of romances.

From the continuance of a state of warfare, and its general and wide-spread consequences, the political events of Europe became a history, in whose pages almost every individual family found an episode, or a paragraph, connected with some of their nearest or dearest interests and affections. Almost every peasant had a loss to deplore, which served to inform him of some national victory, or national disaster, of which he might otherwise have remained happily ignorant.

But, in spite of public and private catastro-

phes,—in spite of severe privations, severely felt by every order of the state, a dejected or despairing spirit was unknown. The measures of ministers were severely canvassed, and often warmly opposed, in the councils of parliament; but whenever the submission of other nations, or any circumstances connected with it, seemed to threaten our own national independence, one mind and one will rose against the yoke that had been imposed on continental Europe; all difference of party disappeared; and the veteran Grattan, long distinguished in political opposition to the conduct of the war, advocating its continuance after the failure of the negotiations at Chatillon, rather than submit to any unworthy sacrifice for peace—will ever remain a proof of that wholesome enthusiasm with which free institutions only can inspire liberal minds.

CHAP. III.

CONDUCT OF BONAPARTE TOWARDS ENGLAND ON HIS FIRST SEIZURE OF SUPREME POWER. — THE EFFECTS OF THE CONQUERING ARMIES OF FRANCE ON THE SOCIAL EXISTENCE OF EUROPE. — THE CHARACTER AND MERITS OF THOSE ARMIES. — THE PEACE OF AMIENS. — STATE OF SOCIETY IN PARIS AT THAT TIME. — REMARKABLE ANOMALIES IN IT. — THE POPULAR LITERATURE. — THEATRES. — DRESS. — BONAPARTE'S CONDUCT DURING THE ENSUING ELEVEN YEARS. — ALTERED STATE OF SOCIETY WHEN CALLED TOGETHER UNDER THE IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT, IN THE UPPER ORDERS, AMONG THE TRADESPeOPLE, IN THE THEATRES. — MADEMOISELLE CLAIRON. — COLLÉ. — MEMOIRS OF MADAME DU BARRI.

FRANCE, after being reduced to the lowest level both of morals and of manners, by the anarchical rule of a succession of demagogues, and by the yet more degrading profligacy, the disrespectful and disrespected power of the Directory (1),

(1) " La politique obtuse de ce gouvernement entretenoit
" la lutte des partis. Le pouvoir suprême manquoit
" d'hommes assez forte pour être justes, et assez irré-

seized hold, with eagerness and gratitude, of the strong arm held out to raise her from the abject state into which she felt herself fallen.

One of the first effects produced by the powerful and astute intellect of Bonaparte was the destruction of all respect for the English name and character. Hitherto the French nation, considering the English as their preceptors in politics, had treated their prejudices and their peculiarities with indulgence, and seemed only desirous of proving to them that they had far outstripped their masters, both in the theory and practice of civil liberty.

Bonaparte, wisely profiting by the self-admiration of a vain people, and by our first ill-directed combinations against the excesses into which they had been led, succeeded in putting the English name and nation out of fashion in Europe. Our peculiarities were dwelt on with harshness, our former pretensions laughed at,

"prochables pour ne craindre ni les Républicains purs, ni
"les Royalistes incorruptibles."—*La Cour et la Ville*, vol. ii.
p. 592.

our national pride considered as intolerable insolence ; our policy was declared to be entirely selfish, our exertions confined to English objects only, and our faith called in question to allies who had not succeeded with our support. The very princes we were subsidising, while their own national existence leagued them with England, were taught, as individuals, to laugh in their sleeves at the lavish hand with which those subsidies were bestowed, at their faulty organisation, and at our supposed reluctance to contribute, otherwise than by money, to the safety of the Continent.

Meanwhile the armies of France had traversed Europe. A system of pillage was too well managed for the advantage of the commanders, to be often profitable to the soldier. Triumph, and all its intoxicating consequences, followed their arms. The French troops defiling before a victorious general, in all “ the pomp, pride, and circumstance” of war, became often an exhilarating show to the thoughtless youth of the dull continental towns, which had slumbered for half a century under the quiet minutiae of German

despotism, and the dull daily etiquette of some electoral government. The young men of Italy were roused by the passage and by the presence of successive hosts of French officers, who disturbed the quiet of their evening lounge from the door of the café to the theatre, and who laughed at the daily airings of a corso, and the sleepy loves of a cicisbeo.

The young Italians were too happy to be offered a fine uniform and a plumed cap, and to be allowed to figure as hussars or lancers in the streets of their native cities, before they were marched off, with the command of some new-raised troops as ignorant as themselves, to swell the ranks of the conqueror of Italy, to secure his interest in the families to which they belonged, and on the first occasion of danger to be sacrificed for the preservation of the veteran and more valuable troops of France. The younger branches of the same families were meanwhile enlisted in the service of the conqueror's court, and sent away to receive among his pages at Paris an education which certainly much surpassed any instruction they could have hoped

for under the tuition of an *Abbate di casa* in the paternal mansion.

Thus, while Europe was losing all shadow of national individuality, and was in fact moulding into one unwieldy mass on which to erect a colossus of military despotism,—while its people were in turn suffering all the privations, horrors, and devastation of war, and its princes and ministers making unavailing leagues, to secure a permanence to governments which, in fact, but few of them deserved,—the social world — the general mind (if the expression may be allowed) of continental Europe adopted the opinions, the views, and the ideas of the triumphant party ; thus unconsciously conspiring to seal the loss of her own independence ; while her conqueror, with almost equal blindness, discerned not, in the means he was obliged to employ for her subversion, the future seeds of a regenerated existence.

Statesmen and politicians will probably look down with contempt on the supposed influence of causes so independent of their sphere of action, and generally so little considered by

them. It is for the quiet, philosophic observer of human nature, and of the various impressions it is ever liable to receive in evil, as well as in good, justly to appreciate the effects here alluded to.

During the disreputable and inefficient government of the Directory, the whole active virtue of France took refuge in her armies. There the honour and the love of their country still warmed the heart and nerved the arm of those who had neither judgment nor perseverance, nor a sufficiently commanding intellect to arrest the ever-changing measures, and the exaggerated ideas, that disgraced the attempts made at the establishment of civil liberty.

In the armies still flourished every thing that honours and distinguishes the French character, — brilliant valour, daring enterprise, unwearied spirits, and unmatched celerity, both of perception and of action. The genius of Bonaparte turned all these national virtues to his own aggrandisement, and to the destruction of that freedom to which France had so mistaken the road. Nothing, perhaps, made his superior judg-

ment in the art of governing men more evident than his first strides to power. These were always made by appearing to lead, to adopt, and to be guided by the popular impulse of the time, grounding the establishment of his dominion on national propensities and peculiarities of character.

The martial spirit inherent in the French nation had been exalted and sublimated into a passion for their country, which left far behind all their former devotion to the will of their princes. Military habits and military honours, which had formerly been confined to their nobility, were rendered general among the people at large. These habits Bonaparte immediately encouraged and excited; and thus succeeded in as completely depreciating all peaceful employment of talents, time, or property, as ever Louis XIV. had done during the most brilliant period of his reign.

Bonaparte, having gratified their vanity by a series of victories, led them triumphant from one capital of Europe to another. He thus served the double purpose of establishing his own military

omnipotence, and blinding them to the spirit that was destroying every thing but the empty and exaggerated forms of a republican government at home. He then sought moments of temporary peace, to allow them to compare the state in which he had placed, to that in which he had found them, and to avail himself of their enthusiastic gratitude to forward his own progress to unlimited power. That neither he, nor the nation, were prepared for a permanent peace, he well knew. His desire of power increased (of course) with its possession, and his successful flattery of the foibles of the nation had turned its every virtue against itself. Distinctions of honour, he was aware, were as necessary to gratify those foibles as military glory. Sure of finding a responsive feeling in every bosom, he boldly stepped forward to restore and bestow hereditary honours, which they had themselves, with childish impatience, abolished not ten years before ; sure of being allowed to seize on superior power himself, provided he gave them a chance of being assimilated to it, and even to place himself on a throne, the

steps of which they were again to be allowed to occupy.

In the many visions in which he indulged in conversation with Las Casas at St. Helena, he gives an admirable account of his intentions, and of his system in the re-institution of hereditary honours and distinctions. His only mistake was, in supposing that any other result could arise from this system (while acted upon) than a military despotism, which might, and would, have overshadowed Europe with its baleful influence, without in any respect changing its nature by its extension.

Provoked at the unbending spirit of England, against the continued aggressions of his all-devouring ambition, and secure, in this instance as in every other, of the popular prejudices and vanities of France supporting his measures and falling into his arguments, he succeeded in representing the English government as so far from capable of suggesting any thing politically good, that it had become a vile despotic oligarchy, uniting all the pride and all the prejudices of the old system of legitimacy and hereditary honours,

with all the meanness and all the self-interest ascribed to commercial habits. Writers were sent to England to misstate our institutions, and to misconstrue our laws;* and the daily publications were full of sanctioned falsehoods, sometimes emanating from the pen of the master himself, whose style was always recognisable.

Unfortunately the efforts of England, however great, however meritorious, however persevering in the cause of European independence, were, for many years, so misdirected, that in the eyes of Europe the national character obtained not the credit it deserved. The government, like many individuals supposed to possess inexhaustible riches, was flattered, deceived, pillaged, and ridiculed.

The peace of Amiens was necessary to both countries: in England, to convince the nation that its ministers desired peace; and in France, to allow its dictator to prepare and to organise a more general and interminable war. The power of Bonaparte, which he had thought proper (like

* Fievé, and many others.

the Emperors of Rome) to possess under a consular title, was now undisputed and supreme. He thus allowed France to slip back into her old habits of obedience to arbitrary power, with a salvo to her conscience, and much gratification to her vanity.

When the two nations of England and France met in social intercourse, during the short interval of the peace of Amiens, after a twelve years' separation, they were surprised to find how much they had grown out of each other's acquaintance. But the curiosity of England was much more excited than that of her neighbour, as to all the alterations that had taken place during their separation. In France, these alterations were indeed of no ordinary description, and were singularly interesting to the observer of social life and manners.

The exaggerated and impossible equality of the democratical republic of 1793 — the profligate and degrading manners of the Directory — the newly acquired power and efforts of Bonaparte to establish a better order of social life — the remnant of the old nobility, who,

intrenched in the recesses of the Fauxbourg St. Germain, had carefully preserved every prejudice, and (as has been justly observed) had neither forgotten nor learnt any thing; — all these discordant elements, at the peace of Amiens, formed strange and irreconcilable discrepancies in society; while every party still believed its force so nearly poised, that all had hopes of reassuming the dominion they had successively lost. The republican forms of language, and its calendar, were still in use—were still those of the government, and of those employed by it. You were invited on a *Quintidi* of such a *Décade* of *Ventose*, or of *Prairial*, to a dinner, or an evening meeting; and you were received in an apartment which bore no mark of change from former monarchical days, excepting the company it contained; — the women in the half-naked costume of Directorial fashion, or the Grecian tuniques and Grecian coiffures of more recent days; — the men in civil uniforms of all sorts, and all colours of embroidery, with which the Directory (to separate themselves from the *bonnet rouge* and the *carmagnole* of the Republicans) had thought

proper to decorate themselves and all those put in authority under them. Among these figured the brilliant military costumes of the conquering generals, who had many of them risen from the ranks by merit which fitted them more for distinction on a field of battle than in a drawing-room : the manners of their previous life forsook them not in their peaceful capacity, and the habits of a guard room followed them into the salons of Paris.

The popular literature of the day,—that which was meant as descriptive of manners, and consequently must receive its colour from them, proved the general moral degradation which had taken place. A traveller passing through Paris in the year 1802, at the beginning of a long journey, applied to a great and respectable bookseller for some trifling works to read on the road. Nearly a hundred volumes were immediately sent to choose out of; they were part of the novels, romances, and anecdotes of the last ten years. There was no time for selection, and the purchaser took at haphazard thirty or forty volumes of the most inviting titles. On examin-

ation they were found, with hardly an exception, to be such disgusting repetitions of the vilest profligacy, such unvaried pictures of the same disgraceful state of society and manners, without even the apology of wit or the veil of decency, that the traveller successively threw the volumes half read out of the carriage window, to avoid being supposed the patient reader of such revolting trash.

The theatres partook of the bad taste, the exaggeration, and the licence of the times. More numerous and more crowded than ever, their altered audiences,—altered not less in manners(1) than in appearance,—no longer the ar-

(1) In the year 1802, two ladies, shown into one of the first boxes of the Vaudeville Theatre, found a man alone, wrapped up in a large rough great coat, occupying the front row. He took not the least notice of the two persons who entered the box, neither offering them to occupy or to share his place, but continued chewing tobacco, and disposing of it most unceremoniously, the whole time the individuals in question remained in the box. In former times, so strictly was the public feeling of attention to women maintained, that no man could sit in the front row of any theatre, while a woman was placed behind him, without attracting public animadversions, and being obliged to quit his position.

biters of taste, impressed (as is ever the case) their own colour on what they allowed to contribute to their amusement. Exaggerated sentiments, and strange unnatural situations in patriotism and in passion, were alone admired; and every allusion to their former prejudices or their former government was marked with an execration, certainly due to the situations in which the author placed his characters, and the language they were made to hold. Their Comic Muse, so long and so justly admired for her good taste, deigned often to envelope herself in a veil of continued puns. Whole pieces were written in this amphibological language, where all story, all character, all interest, was sacrificed to combinations of similar sounds, on which a meaning was forced, the farther fetched the better.

Their Opera flourished, and was at this time the theatre the most in fashion. It was here, too, that the greatest difference was observable in the appearance of the audience. The lobby, where formerly were to be seen brilliant groups of all the young men and women of fashion, and of all the most distinguished courtezans, who often

rivalled and surpassed them in dress and appearance, was now crowded by a strange medley of ill-dressed, dirty looking persons ; the men with an affectedly neglected appearance, and the women with no other distinction of dress or attraction than valuable shawls and expensive lace veils, which were often to be detected on persons whose general appearance was below that of a *femme de chambre* of former days. Dancing, however little analogous either its study or practice might have been supposed in times of terror and confusion, had been more cultivated, and had become more a science than ever, both on the theatre particularly appropriated to its exhibition, and in society. Balls were given, where Vestris the younger (still maintaining his wonted priority) was received as a guest to dance in quadrilles, and compare his talent with that of the best dancers in society. (1)

The decorations of the theatre, the scenes, and the subjects of the ballets, had been much

(1) The author saw him, in the year 1802, thus dancing at a ball given by M. Demidoff, then inhabiting the Hôtel de Montholon, on the Boulevard Montmartre.

improved from the recent occupation of Italy by the French armies : but, in these improvements, the character of the times, and the exaggeration which accompanied them, were every where observable. In mythological subjects, or in those taken from the Greek or Roman story, the costumes of the different ages or countries were perfectly and pedantically observed, even when they sometimes trenched considerably on what had hitherto been considered as due to public decency in attire. Calypso, in the ballet of *Télémaque*, as represented by M^{me} Clotilde in the year 1802, had exactly the same, and not more, drapery than the beautiful ancient statue of the Diana Cacciatrice : the nymphs who accompanied her wore merely one transparent petticoat over a tight dress of flesh-coloured knitting, leaving the whole form clearly defined ; — in short, they were exact copies of the least draped statues of antiquity.

Bonaparte, already living in the Tuilleries, and already, in fact, possessed of supreme power, wisely made no unnecessary display of it ; while he neglected nothing to confirm its possession to

himself, and to reconcile the nation to its exercise. While a concordat was settling with Rome the re-establishment of a national Church in France, no attempt was made to return to or enforce the observance of any Catholic rites, or of any holidays, but those of the republic:— while no man, whatever his poverty or his station in life, would condescend to wear the livery of another; and while no servant in Paris would accompany his employer (for the term of *master* had ceased) otherwise than by walking at his side;— Bonaparte paved the way for a return to the old hierarchy of menial ranks, by allowing Josephine to assume a livery for the household of the wife of the First Consul. While such of the Faubourg St. Germain as had not emigrated were left in the peaceful possession of every thing which the altered condition of their country allowed them, and while they were returning to some of the enjoyments of society among themselves, persons who were admitted to that society found it, in every particular, so unchanged, that they could hardly forget their hosts were not all

they ever had been. While such was the case in more than one quarter in Paris, in another a celebrated mantuamaker* gave a ball, to which every member of the already all-powerful Bonaparte family were invited, and where every one of them went, except the First Consul himself, who, for reasons which he details to Las Casas at St. Helena, had already found it necessary to take measures against the natural familiarity of the nation, which he felt would have been essentially adverse to his future views.

He now made advances to England, which, had they been less contemptuously received, might have considerably influenced both his destiny, and that of the Continent. Had he not been provoked to immediate war by the rebuff of his first attempt to treat individually as a sovereign power, he could not have fallen directly on prostrate Europe, and all but annihilated the independent existence of both Russia and Austria ; France might have had leisure to open her eyes to the ultimate views of her leader,

* Madame Germon.

and the nations opposed to her have been allowed breathing time to recover from the panic occasioned by the successes of France, and to observe whither the adoption of her principles was leading them. But England was, at this time (from the effects of the entire separation already noticed), lamentably ignorant of the real state of France, both with regard to politics and habits of society. The nations of the Continent had, to their cost, acquired more just ideas of her means, her power, and her influence. Our insular situation had been at once our security and our blind. We asked for the "evidence of facts," when they were notorious to all Europe but ourselves; and we asked it from a man who sought our alliance and support, while conscious of powers which made him independent of them.

His first measure in the war which ensued on the rupture of the peace of Amiens, was one of vindictive vengeance for the affront he had received from England, and of treason against the good faith and social confidence of Europe.

The arrest of all English travellers found on the Continent, during a moment of peace, was

a flagrant breach of the law of nations, and an insolent contempt of the rights of those countries who were yet willing to believe themselves independent. This event, in 1803, drove back all the English who escaped his bonds to their island, and to the duties which its dangers and its defence required of them. An entire separation now again took place between the two countries, until England, in 1814, headed the vanguard of combined and indignant Europe in the re-assertion of her independence, and in her triumphant entry into the capital of her oppressor.

During the eleven intervening years, in spite of the perpetual war which the boundless ambition of Bonaparte, and his intolerable pretensions on other countries, entailed on France, she had made rapid strides in industry, and in the means of supplying herself with every thing which the mistaken policy of her leader prevented her from receiving from other lands. At the same time, every endeavour was made on his part, by recalling and encouraging internal luxury and expense, to vivify her own peculiar

manufactures, and, by great and well directed public works, to employ every arm not included in the military conscription of the year.

Vast buildings and vast demolitions, for ornament as well as for convenience, projected and prosecuted while he was leading the conquering armies of France abroad, were the means of securing his absolute power at home. The same principle of national vanity, which gloried in these expenses, afterwards allowed him to assume a title, of which *he* already possessed the power, but which was new and gratifying to the nation. The establishment of the Imperial Court, and that with which he surrounded every member of his family, was more numerous, more expensive, and more magnificent, than that of any of his legitimate predecessors.

Many ridiculous particulars are related of the rigid etiquettes exacted and observed by the persons he appointed to the state offices of the Crown, who seemed to conceive that their correct observance of all the ceremonial of their offices supplied every deficiency in their own habits, and made them every thing that the

former possessors of the same offices could have been. (1)

But the great man himself judged wisely, that it was by the dazzling brilliancy of a numerous court that he could alone hope to attract and attach some of those, who had been brought up in the idea that the glory of their country and their court was one and the same thing, and found it now inconvenient, as well as difficult, to separate the two ideas. How justly Bonaparte calculated on these effects, and how duly he appreciated the advantages he meant to draw from them, are admirably detailed in a letter to Fouché, while his minister of police, in 1809, to whom he says (2), — “ Je vous envoie, par mon premier page,

(1) Not less strange to some of his enriched marshals, was the magnificence they saw around them in their newly furnished hotels at Paris. The Maréchale D^{sse} de Dantzig, who had been a *vivandiere* of the army when the maréchal (Le Fevre) was a serjeant in the ranks, remarked on the inutility of the quantity of books she saw in their library; “ car mon mari n'est pas *Lecturier*, et moi, je ne suis pas *Lisarde*.”

(2) *Bibliothèque Historique*, v. 10. cahier 6., published at Paris, the 19th Nov. 1819, contains the whole letter at length.

“ *mille sept cents quatre vingts huits* demandes
“ que m’ont adressées dans mes voyages, et à
“ différent époques, des individus qui désirent
“ des places dans ma maison, ou dans celles des
“ princes. J’ai fait écarter dans le tems toutes
“ celles qui n’étoient pas admissibles. Il s’agit
“ de faire un choix parmi ces dixhuit cents
“ personnes.”

Talleyrand’s advice and counsel, which he sends along with the list, he does not think sufficient to settle his opinion. He then gives Fouché his own ideas on the subject; on the formation and the purposes of a court, on the characters necessary to support and adorn it, and on what he expects of the persons he appoints. He will have nobody without fortune, as he does not mean to give regular salaries to any of the officers of his palace. “ Je veux faire sortir des provinces ces messieurs qui me demandent des places à genoux, qui font assiéger les portes de mes antichambres par leur protecteurs, et qui affectent publiquement de dédaigner les faveurs du gouvernement.....Les officiers du palais feront une service auprès des rois et

“ des princes étrangers, lorsqu'il en viendra à
“ la cour. Je les destine à remplir des missions
“ de peu d'importance dans les cours étrangères.
“ Il faut des hommes qui soient jeunes, et
“ d'une physique agréable, qui aient de belles
“ manières, afin que les étrangers prennent de
“ nos mœurs une idée avantageuse. Des gens
“ de la cour qui plaisent au premier coup-d'oeil
“ sont plus utiles à servir certains intérêts
“ politiques, qu'un Chancelier Oxenstiern s'il
“ étoit borgne ou boiteux. La moitié des
“ princes de l'Europe va arriver à Paris ; leurs
“ yeux sont accoutumés à voir de près ; l'éclat de
“ la cour fera plus d'impression sur leur esprit,
“ que les plus belles négociations du ministre
“ des affaires étrangères (Talleyrand), dont ils se
“ défient.” He then tells Fouché that, from this
fatras of papers, he must make him a list of
three or four hundred persons, with exact details
of their age, fortune, mental and personal
qualities, and of their moral character. Their
claims from having occupied places in the for-
mer court, or from ancient birth, which many of
them put forward, he does not mean to take into

account : but, "comme il y a question de vivre
" à la cour, il faut des personnes qui aient veçus
" dans la bonne compagnie."....."Qu'ils regret-
" tent ou non l'ancien régime, cela m'est égal; en
" nous voyant de près, ils verront que nous
" valons mieux que ce qu'ils ont perdu."....."Je
" ne suis pas faché de faire taire tous ces cla-
" baudeurs, ou de les faire changer de lan-
" guage." He then gives a list of certain names
of persons he had known in the provinces, and
desires an enquiry to be made as to what they
had been doing during the consulate. He adds
other names recommended by Cambacères, and
some by his mother, and then says, "Dites-moi
" ce que c'est que Mess. de Louvois, St. Aulaire,
" Juste de Noailles Gontaut, Grammont, Aug'.
" Chabot, Vieuville," &c. accompanied by many
other of the first families of France. He desires
him to confine himself strictly to the petitions he
sends him : "Je ne veux nommer personne qui ne
" l'ait demandé et même sollicité. Vous porterez
" sur votre liste toutes les personnes recom-
" mandées par l'Impératrice Josephine, et par la
" Reine Hortense."

Nothing can more strongly mark the character of Bonaparte's mind and politics than this letter, and the whole of the transaction. Nothing could be better imagined, or more expedient in his circumstances towards the nation he had to do with, than what he proposes, and his whole view of the subject; at the same time nothing more entirely without that sentiment of individual honour, which, not feeling himself, he seemed anxious to destroy or stifle in others. The task was not difficult. It would be curious to see Fouché's Memoir, which was ordered to be ready for the first "conseil de ma maison" to which he should call him at the end of the month, — the abhorred, degraded Fouché's report on the character, views, conduct, and manners of half the first names of France, *then* made dependent on a stroke of his pen for the accomplishment of their wishes, in attaching them to that very palace where many of them have since figured as the devoted courtiers of the Bourbons.

The licence which had taken place in France, during the twelve first years of her revolution —

the professed disregard to all religion, and the public neglect of all its rites — parental authority considered as incompatible with the dignity of free-born man, and the indissolubility of marriage as a still more insufferable badge of former slavery, — these sentiments spread, and were communicated with the eagerness of proselytism to all the adjacent countries: political freedom seemed to be considered as necessarily accompanied by moral licence. The opinions of Europe *thus* regenerated, were a new proof how much farther astray men are at first liable to go on principles fundamentally right, than on those fundamentally wrong. In the present instance, no profligacy of manners, no corruption of principles, no tyrannical cruelty of rulers, nor any baseness of submission in their subjects, during the worst periods of former French history, equalled that of its successive revolutionary governments. But at no time was the lamp of reason or the inspirations of truth extinct. Thousands, whilst patiently suffering, were assiduously cultivating powers of mind, and prosecuting the acquisition of talents, which supported

them under oppression, and rendered them back to their country, when in a state to appreciate their merits, with purified minds, cultivated intellects, and improved characters: many had been obliged to recur to the exercise and improvement of those talents, for the means of bread; all had been witnesses of such awful changes in the social existence of man, accompanied by such severe inflictions on their own personal enjoyments, as necessarily turned their minds from the intercourse of a world in which they found nothing but reverses and crimes, to seek comfort and support in the bosoms of their own families. At the very moment, therefore, when the most offensive licence was tolerated by the public morals of the day, a great, a wholesome, and a radical reform, was actually taking place in the domestic habits and feelings of France.

From the abolition of all convents and other seminaries for education, the early youth of children was passed with their parents. During the three long years of the reign of terror, retirement and insignificance afforded the only means of safety; re-unions in society were fore-

gone, and habits acquired of living much at home, in the hope of being forgotten rather than distinguished. While thousands of blood-stained hands were crowding the many theatres of Paris, both there and in the provincial towns they were almost entirely deserted by their former frequenters,—every body was too much occupied with fears of the present, or with hopes of the future, to make further excitement necessary.

As before this time the revolution, and all its accompanying evils, had fallen on every order of the state, and crushed and disjointed every spring which had hitherto held them together; so the social existence and habits of every order had undergone an essential change. When the "*disjecta membra*" of society were collected together by the strong arm of the Imperial government, this change was perhaps more remarkable in the middle and lower classes of society, than among those who had now placed themselves in the upper rank.

The whole host of artisans employed before the revolution in the service of luxury, all the

great professors of fashion in dress and ornament, were formerly self-important characters — individuals often ludicrously distinguished by their high opinion of themselves, and their exaggerated ideas of the importance of their own particular art. A fashionable milliner or mantua-maker generally exhibited on her own person a sample of an elegant dishabille, or a demi-toilette, in which their customers sometimes found it difficult to rival the easy grace with which it was worn by its inventor. These *artistes* often found in the boudoirs of the ladies to whom they were exposing their goods, the same cavaliers who were sometimes not less well received in their own, and who perhaps had charmed the dull hours of previous labour, by their gallant conversation, and assisted by their taste in the composition of the very fashion which they were now called on to judge and to approve.

These priestesses of fashion were always surrounded by a crowd of élèves, who often rivalled their instructress in charms and gentillesse, and aspired to all her accomplishments. On their personal attractions she often counted more

than on their professional talents ; a seat next the window to the street, in a fashionable shop, was the ambition of all its inmates, and the reward of the favoured few. Good conduct was no more looked for behind their counters, than in the coulisse of the opera ; indeed, the one was often a preparatory step to the other. The revolution swept away from the surface of republican France all these self-conceited persons, together with their, more uselessly self-conceited, employers. Mlle. Martin, who for almost half a century had improved the complexions of all the courts of Europe by her unrivalled rouge, lived to see the day when herself and her commodity were equally proscribed. To have been suspected of wearing it, or of living by its means, during the reign of terror, would have been equally dangerous ; and she and her rouge disappeared together, till called forth again to the Consular Court of Bonaparte, where the much more moderate use of her cosmetic must have left strong prejudices in her mind, in favour of the old régime, and of the old toilette, of which she herself, at past eighty, exhibited a

sample, in a high-powdered head, a small hat, placed on the summit of it, a hoop, and high-heeled shoes.(1)

The whole legal administration of the opera, and the privileges attached to it, seemed to have been especially contrived to keep up a focus of profligacy, and to offer a reward to misconduct and licentiousness in the lower orders of the female world. A reception on the establishment of the opera, either as a singer or as a dancer, although of the lowest order, and receiving no emolument, took the person so received entirely out of the power of their parents, and made them independent of every control but that of the administration of the opera, which, it may be easily supposed, was not severe on the score of conduct. The consequences were inevitable: it became the refuge of all the profligate. From its ranks were chiefly selected those courtesans, whom the fashion of the day allowed to brave public decency by their extravagant expenditure, ostentatiously exhibiting on every occasion a

(1) In this costume the author saw her at Paris, in the year 1802.

magnificence in dress and equipage unattainable by honest means (1); rivalling one another in the sums allowed them, and the ruin they soon entailed on those who from taste or vanity purchased their favours, and the honour of being known to supply their uncontrolled extravagance.

Nor was the opera the only preparatory school for such characters: the heroines of all the theatres were supposed equally ready for the same preferment—although their being constantly in the habit of expressing all the delicacies of sentiment, and all the struggles of virtue and honour, might have been supposed to have made them more sensible to both in their own conduct.

How much their profligate lives injured their talents, some among themselves had the good sense to discover. Mademoiselle Clairon, in the interesting account she has given of her

(1) On Thursday of the Holy Week, 1775, at Longchamp,
 “ Mlle. Du Thé s'y est fait voir dans une voiture élégante,
 “ attelée de six chevaux, dont les harnois étoient de
 “ marroquin bleu recouvert de plaques d'acier poli, qui
 “ réfléchissoient les rayons du soleil de toutes parts.” —
Lettres Secrètes et Politiques, &c. tom. i. p. 272.

life and of her art, although pretending to no farther purity herself than that of being faithful to *one* lover, very justly urges the impossibility of passing the whole of life in degrading society, except the hour on the stage, during which actresses are called on to transform themselves into the representatives and the organ of the most elevated sentiments and the most virtuous sacrifices! — But neither France nor England had at that time seen, or seen enough to believe in, the union of great theatrical talents with purity of manners, and prudence of conduct. In France, indeed, such union must have been long retarded, and rendered difficult, by the shameful prejudices entertained in public opinion against the profession of the theatre,—prejudices which were sanctioned by the laws, by the exclusion of actors from all the rights of citizenship, and from all the benefits of their religion. While remaining in the exercise of their profession, they were excommunicated from their church; and any gentleman's son becoming a comedian was, by the act itself, disinherited.

Mademoiselle Clairon having the honour and the interests of the profession, to which she was a distinguished ornament, much at heart, and flattered by the social distinction which her great talents had procured for her, made a vain attempt (as is well known), in the reign of Louis XV., to restore her fellow-sufferers to the rights of other citizens. Having retired for a time from the theatre, where her loss was irreparable to the public, she made her return to the stage dependent on her success in obtaining the removal of the excommunication of the church.

Collé, a dramatic author of considerable talent *, and otherwise of respectable character, whom one might suppose, from his necessary connexion with actors, rather to favour their pretensions than to crush them, thus speaks of Mademoiselle Clairon's attempt, and his opinion of its propriety : — “ Elle demandoit qu'on levât “ l'excommunication dont l'église s'est toujours “ aidé contre ces messieurs : qu'ils fussent

* Author of the Partie de Chasse d'Henri IV.

“ déclarés expressément citoyens, égaux aux autres citoyens ; et qu'une ancienne ordonnance de nos rois, qui permet aux pères de famille de déshériter leurs enfans, pour cause d'histrionage, fût abolie.”

“ Mais quand ils auroient obtenus des lettres patentes du roi, pour être au niveau des autres citoyens ; quand ces lettres auroient été enregistrées aux parlement ; auroient-ils par là détruit l'opinion publique ? En seroient-ils restés moins infames dans l'idée de toute la nation ? En supposant même que ce soit un préjugé, son extinction peut-elle être opérée par des lettres patentes, et par l'arrêt qui les enrégistre ?

“ Je ne parle pas ici de l'atteinte qui pouvoit donner aux mœurs le consentement du roi, contre l'opinion générale. Il n'est pas nécessaire d'employer de nouveaux véhicules pourachever de corrompre entièrement nos mœurs.”*

Thus wrote, and thus thought, a dramatic author in the year 1766 ; — thus lately were these disgraceful prejudices entertained, even by in-

* Journal Historique de Collé, tom. iii. p. 248.

formed minds, in France ; and thus was all moral truth, of sentiment and of conduct, confounded and buried under a load of absurd and arbitrary contradictions, between the practice of society and the principles on which it was constituted.

The Memoirs lately published under the name of the “ Comtesse du Barri,”—(their not being composed in their present form by her is little to the purpose, the facts having been already known from various other sources,)—these Memoirs show to what a condition a great, powerful, intelligent people may be reduced, by having no institutions to recur to—no barriers to secure — no examples to encourage — no remembrances to oppose to the decrees of a poor degraded prince, fallen into the hands of the vilest and most contemptible of his subjects. They exhibit a frightful picture of the French nation, governed by a Duc, d'Aiguillon, at the head of her foreign affairs, — a man publicly dishonoured by the first tribunal of his country, indebted for his impunity to an extraordinary exertion of arbitrary power in the sovereign, and indivi-

dually odious for the vindictive tyranny of his private character ; — by a Chancellor, Maupeou, whose violent measures had brought into contempt even the institutions which had hitherto been considered as the least contaminated ; — by an Abbé Terray, who, at the head of her finances, allowed the general bankruptcy of the state to be hurried on by boundless extravagance, and by a compliance with the most unblushing demands for the vilest purposes ; — by a Duc, de la Vrilli  re, contemptible even to his contemptible associates, whose base subservience in the issue of *lettres de cachet* placed the personal liberty of every individual in their hands. These persons, intrusted with the interests of a great country, thus obeying every dictate, complying with every fancy, and in fact holding their power from a woman raised from the lowest ranks of profligacy, professing no virtue but an absence of hypocrisy, and pretending to no merit but that of not persecuting worth or talents as long as they kept out of the way. Such a history of such a crisis, and of such characters, may surely be regarded as a *politically MORAL work* ; for

what incentive can be so strong, what motives so pressing, to consolidate a constitutional government? — a government depending on institutions, and not on individuals; and securing, as far as human foresight can secure, from the danger of falling again under the degrading profigacy of a Louis XV., the ruinous despotism of a Bonaparte, or the still more dreadful anarchy and excesses, to which *all* misgovernment must inevitably lead.

CHAP. IV.

EUROPE DECEIVED BY THE MISCONDUCT OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION, AS TO THE REAL INTENTIONS AND WILL OF THE NATION.—THE EFFECTS OF THEIR SUCCESSIVE MISGOVERNMENTS.—CAUTION OF BONAPARTE'S FIRST STEPS TO DESPOTIC POWER.—DIFFICULTY OF THE COUNTRY RECOVERING FROM THE DAZZLING EFFECTS OF HIS MILITARY GLORY.—MISTAKEN VIEWS ON HIS FALL.—HIS SOCIAL CHARACTER.—ITS EFFECTS ON HIS CONTEMPORARIES, AND ON FRANCE.—NO PARALLEL BETWEEN HIM AND CROMWELL.

THE follies, the excesses, the atrocities which accompanied the first period of the French revolution seemed to deceive Europe as to the real state of the national mind and character. The puerilities which often determined their most serious discussions, in consequence of the infancy of their political existence ; the outrages and the licence which disgraced all their popular movements, often proceeding from an ill-calculated opposition to their just demands ; and, above

all, that total want of faith on both sides, which mutually (and too justly) prevented all confidence in the concessions of the one party, or in the demands of the other ; — these combined causes, acting on a lively, intelligent, and excitable people, consigned them, during the first twelve years of emancipation from their old trammels, to the anarchical rule of a succession of despicable demagogues. From these they took refuge in the temporary and disjointed government of an insufficient Directory, whose excessive misrule, and the general disorganisation which was its consequence, soon obliged them to accept with gratitude the protecting arm of arbitrary power, and finally to receive with acclamation a military despotism, much more efficient in its power and means of oppression than that which they had destroyed ; while their dazzled eyes, and flattered vanity, saw not, with Europe prostrate before their chief, that in lending their arm to deprive her of independence, they had allowed themselves to be deprived of every security for political freedom.

But, under all these successions of folly and of

crime, of frightful licence and of base submission, of wild visions of impossible freedom, and of tame obedience to despotic power, — still the universal intention of the nation — its general *will* — was one and the same, from its first emancipation in the States-General of 1789, through all the eventful changes of its Republican, Directorial, Consular, Imperial, and restored governments. It *willed* a general participation in the political, as well as the social existence of the country — a deliverance from all monopoly, and all privilege, and security against all great concentrations either of power or of property. These it sought with all the ardour of novelty, all the fickleness of inexperience, and all the credulity of self-sufficiency and vanity. But *still* it sought them ; while Europe, deceived by its excesses, and by the versatility of its submission, persisted in considering it as a revolted, and not as a regenerated people. Hence, in the various coalitions in favour of the Bourbons, both before and after the dissolution of the monarchy, the nation seemed never to have been considered as a contracting party. Such coalitions, therefore,

succeeded in nothing, but uniting the most discordant elements, and riveting one only and supereminent will — that of independence.

The profligate manners, the absence of all moral truth, and the neglect of all religious principle, which had long preceded the revolution, now acted on minds emancipated from every control both human and divine : all aimed at power by excesses in conduct, and by exaggerations in opinion ; and France, for some time, exhibited a state of society unheard of in any civilised country, — a succession of crimes and cruelties in those obtaining an ephemeral rule in the government, which it is difficult to credit, and of subjection to their will, to which it is hardly possible to suppose any people infatuated enough to submit. The country and provinces deluged by their satellites, and by the idle and worthless, who, in the general disorganisation of all wholesome government, pretended to be their agents, and acted in their name. (1)

(1) Vidocq tells us, that at Brussels, in the year 1794, he received from another knave like himself, “ non pas un

The sufferings entailed by emigration, the exertions and the privations which it made necessary, and the virtues which it elicited,—the dreadful scenes witnessed by those who more manfully remained at their post,—the loss of friends, of fortune, and of consequence—an existence which no innocence could ensure, no justice defend, which was often a prolonged agony of day after day passed in the shadow of death,—through this long series of sufferings and of crimes, Providence, by the inscrutable ways, against which we so often revolt in their progress towards ends, of whose benevolence

“ brevet, mais une feuille de route de sous-lieutenant
 “ de 6^{me} Chasseurs, voyagant avec son cheval, ayant droit
 “ au logement et aux distributions. C'est ainsi que je me
 “ trouvois incorporé dans cette *armée roulante*, composée
 “ d'officiers sans brevet, sans troupe, qui, muni de faux états,
 “ et de fausses feuilles de route, en imposoient d'autant
 “ plus facilement aux commissaires des guerres, qu'il y
 “ avoit moins d'ordre à cette époque dans les administrations
 “ militaires. Ce qu'il y a de certain, c'est que dans une
 “ tournée que nous fîmes dans les Pays-Bas nous touchâmes
 “ partout nos rations, sans qu'on fit la moindre observation.
 “ Cependant *l'armée roulante* n'étoit pas alors composé
 “ de moins de deux milles aventuriers, qui vivoient là
 “ comme le poisson dans l'eau.” — *Vidocq*, vol. i. p. 74.

even our limited capacities cannot avoid being aware, Providence thus prepared a great people for liberty and prosperity, as soon as they had learnt to merit, and were capable of preserving such blessings.

The disgraceful excesses, and monstrous crimes, which had accompanied the professed disbelief in all religion, and the neglect of every practice, and every principle of Christianity, had, during their sufferings, served to reclaim them, and to re-attach them to the divine truths of the Catholic religion, purified from many of its superstitious observances, and much of its intolerance.

The sale of the confiscated property, appropriated by the nation, had interested thousands in the peace, welfare, and strength of the state. The most active of all incitements, that of individual property, was given to industry. It reassumed a wholesome activity, even under the military despotism of Bonaparte, and all the smaller provincial towns and villages wore a new aspect. The cultivation and improvement of their own field or garden, the embellishment of

their own house, or the extending their traffic, was prosecuted with an activity and an intelligence, unknown while they depended for aid, advancement, or protection, on a *Seigneur*, occasionally inhabiting the château of their village, or on the *Commandant du Roi* of their town. Conscious of their own rights, and of an equality, which, however abused, they fully resolved never to forego ; all the former self-sufficient airs of the professors of the arts of luxury, all the idle pretensions of forfeited nobility, and of former magnificence, were forgotten in the newly acquired dignity of the citizens of a free state, of which, under whatever tyranny or misrule, they still believed themselves possessed.

Meanwhile a new generation arose, to whom the abuses of the old monarchy, the assembly of the notables, the states-general, and the declaration of the rights of man, were already history. They were born to ideas of liberty and equality, and rose to manhood in a military world, led by a conquering chief. They saw every thing attainable by military prowess, and if they felt the iron arm of despotic power, its grasp was sanctioned

by success, and concealed by laurels. The long probation of France was not yet finished ; its regeneration was not yet complete. After having undergone all the horrors of anarchy, and all the degradation of a weak government, it had now to suffer from all the dearly bought honours of a powerful military despotism : vanity, yet uncorrected and an undue appreciation of military glory, delivered it up, the willing instrument of the wildest ambition, and of the most profligate abuses of power, until indignant Europe united, if not to correct, at least to deprive it of the power of doing mischief.

As the various exaggerated schemes of liberty, and attempts at a republican constitution, during the first twelve years of the revolution, ended in a military despotism,— so the military despotism, after threatening universal empire, and inundating Europe with blood, ended in bringing the ravages of war into their own provinces, settling an army of occupation on their frontiers, subjecting them to an imposition of seven hundred millions of francs, and necessitating the return of their former dynasty.

But their noviciate was now performed ; their probation was over ; their sufferings at an end. They were now called to admit a representative government, and a constitutional monarchy, reconstructed on the improved principles of the times. They might now have made their own terms with their restored monarch, and added to the charter, which he wisely volunteered, whatever they had thought necessary for the further security of their freedom. They might now have distinctly stated, that they received the charter as a compact between the king and the people, containing the terms on which they agreed to receive again the House of Bourbon as their Sovereigns : — terms to which the King, in the circumstances in which he was placed, must have acceded. But, by allowing him the initiative in these terms, to which no objection was made, the restored Prince doubted not that he already possessed within himself, and had it in his gift to bestow, what, in fact, now, for the first time, devolved on the nation — the power of choosing its own government. It was for the

Nation to have offered to Royalty all the rights it could harmlessly exercise, and to have surrounded it with “all the pomp, pride, and circumstances” with which it has ever been found necessary to decorate and to conceal the insignificance and the deficient education of hereditary princes. These decorations France, of all other countries, would have been the most liberal to bestow, from taste as well as from habit. But she was, at that moment, unfortunately situated either for asserting her own rights or those of others. Her country was occupied by foreign armies ; her capital full of foreign princes ; who, after having destroyed, for their own sakes, the despot of Europe, would have seen, with no partial or protecting eye, the sober assertion of rights originating with the people : — a source of power of which none of them had, at that time, allowed the legitimacy. Among their ministers and counsellors no character started up, at once wise and bold enough to warn them how much the future peace, and well-being of Europe, was likely to depend on the permanent

settlement of France. They, therefore, concurred in a restoration of the banished family, but left the conditions on which it was to take place to be settled by those the most immediately concerned in it. The King believed that he had the power, as well as the right, to bestow what portion of liberty he considered as compatible with his authority, and the nation felt that it had a right to every thing it deemed necessary to its independence.

The fifteen following years, therefore, were, on the one side, a vain and fruitless endeavour to repossess the monarch of his former power, at the least possible expense of exploded principles, detected errors, and obnoxious privileges; a constant struggle to avoid following up the liberal spirit of the charter: on the other side, a continued jealousy of infringement on the principles of the charter, and a suspicion of the ultimate intentions even of beneficial measures.

The great moral deficiency, an indifference to truth and good faith, still spreading its baneful influence around, and destroying confidence in all sentiments professed, and all arrangements

proposed by both parties, while *both* still betrayed an almost equal ignorance of the wholesome administration of a representative government. Hence, instead of being occupied in the discussion of any great national measures, or of the many internal regulations required by the country, and necessary to the creation of a public opinion — their political parties are reduced to a perpetual warfare in their daily publications. Here, their natural quickness, and facility in writing, allows them to indulge themselves and their readers in endless forms of abuse and recrimination, felt by all but believed by none. In recapitulating excellent principles of government, to which neither party adhere, and which their opponents generally refute, by recalling and citing directly opposite opinions in their own anterior writings.

From this interminable dilemma, in which a want of plain dealing has placed them, it might seem that nothing but great political convulsions could extricate. Happily, however, thirty years of revolution have not been lost on the nation, whatever they may have been on its statesmen.

The nation, under all the political changes it has undergone, has continued in a state of progressive advancement in industry, in information, in the acquisition of property, and of intelligence in its management. Informed and confident in its own resources, it is no longer to be roused to madness by orators in clubs, or to be bribed by the price of a day's debauchery, to endanger an habitually productive industry. (1) Could it be supposed that Paris was ever again to be excited to her former excesses, France would no longer follow the impulsion. France, warned and enlightened by her past sufferings, would ponder before she followed the steps of the metropolis; would weigh the consequences before she adopted its opinions, and would oppose the soberer judgment and less excitable passions of her great manufacturing and commercial cities, to any sudden ebullition, either of power or of patriotism, in Paris.

But, at the period we are recording, the delirium of military glory which her abdicated chief

(1) The late Revolution has proved the truth of all these assertions.

had been so careful to excite and to increase had not subsided. Time was still wanting to restore to their dazzled sight the power of looking steadily at the objects vitally essential to that liberty, for whose sake they had so suffered, and in whose name they had allowed themselves to be so led astray. The best intellects among them still held to men, and not to institutions; to individual character, instead of general securities: while the more thoughtless regretted the impulse that had been given in all directions by a revolutionary government, and seemed to consider that all great works, all national improvement, all general activity, were necessarily connected with a military despotism. They saw, without pleasure, the general emancipation; and because Europe, reeling on her basis, did not immediately recover her equilibrium, and that every one did not find his place in the peaceful reorganisation of society, they affected to regret the fall of despotic power, and to feel no benefit from the relieved respiration of the social world. Their bewildered understanding had confused the calculations of a selfish despotism, with the

dictates of liberal ideas, and the uncontrouled activity of absolute power with the progress of civil liberty. These ideas were unfortunately not confined to France ; but we must suppose, that being already abandoned by the great majority of that nation, they are now disowned by all the liberal minds of Europe. For such tardy return of judgment, and such misguided enthusiasm, many excuses present themselves for the French, which cannot be offered for those of other nations who fell into the same mistakes.

France had been raised to a pitch of military glory, and to a dominion in Europe, unthought of, even in the most triumphant days of Louis XIV. The first steps of the conqueror Bonaparte towards despotic power were made with consummate prudence, taking care by new institutions to interest a new population in the support and stability of his government, before he ventured to expose to them the frightful nudity of despotism. It has been seen *at last*, to be shunned for ever; whether varnished over by military glory, or its features disguised under the mask of liberal institutions.

Their former idol they now view as he will be viewed by all posterity, as one of the few who, for the scourge of their contemporaries on this earth, have appeared in the character of a *conqueror*. The list (if confined to the European world) is happily short, and certainly the name of Bonaparte will occupy as large a space in the eye of history as that of Alexander the Great, or of Cæsar, and be recorded as one having deserved better, both of his age and of human nature, than either of those who can alone be called his competitors ; — as one having no natural disposition to cruelty, except when betrayed into it by violence of temper, or by obstacles in the way of his ambition ; — as one possessed of a cultivated intellect and inexhaustible power of imagination (1), the suggestions of which being backed by almost unlimited power, made him suppose every thing attainable by arms, and encouraged him in dreams of universal empire.

This empire once obtained, he endeavoured to

(1) See, in *Las Casas*, Napoleon's ideas of what he was to make France, when he had completed the conquest of Europe, and what he was to do in England.

persuade himself and others, that he was to produce some new and better order of things, forgetting, in the brilliant visions suggested by his marvellous imagination, that the old material, *man*, was what alone he had to work with, and to work upon. In the mean time, he allowed the same neglect of all moral truth, which had destroyed the former government, to undermine his own — to pervade the lying bulletins of his armies — to exaggerate all his successes — to report doubtful combats into victories — and to augment at pleasure the returns of his own numbers, and of the losses of his enemy. His secretary M. de Bourienne, the most impartial and best informed of his historians, says, — “ Il “ ne balançait jamais à deguiser la vérité lors- “ qu'elle pouvait effleurer sa gloire. Il appelloit “ niaiserie de ne pas le faire.” And in confirmation of his assertion, he gives the draft of the bulletin of the disastrous combat of Aboukir as written by him, avowing the destruction of the fleet; and as written by Bonaparte, who tells his secretary, — “ Vous ne connaissez pas les “ hommes, laissez moi faire — écrivez ;” and dic-

tates to him the long despatch in which his combats with the Turks, Arabs, &c. are detailed at length, and a few lines only given to the battle of Aboukir, where the loss of the ships is laid entirely on Brueyes the admiral, for not having obeyed a letter from Bonaparte, ordering him to go to Corfu, which letter the veracious secretary proves, by the clearest evidence, was *never written.*

The same incontestable authority tells us, relative to the death of Dessaix at the battle of Marengo, — “ Je n'ai pas besoin de dire que les “ paroles que lui preta le fabuleux bulletin “ étaient imaginaires. Il n'est pas mort dans “ les bras de son aide-de-camp, comme j'ai du “ écrire sous la dictée du premier consul. Il n'a “ pas plus prononcé le beau discours que “ j'écrivis de la même manière.” *

Bonaparte must be allowed to have possessed much natural and general good taste, except when its dictates interfered with a puerile vanity, which his unparalleled elevation seemed to increase instead of diminish. He exercised withal

* Vol. iv. p. 128.

an extraordinary influence over the minds of those under his command, or within the sphere of his attraction, partly from the experience of his abilities and of his resources, and partly from certain ebullitions of temper, which, while they sometimes led to offensive consequences, oftener gratified by laying open an otherwise impracticable character—a character bearing prosperity much better than adverse fortune, and falling at last much more from the deficiencies of his heart, than from those of his intellect. Having persuaded himself that virtue and vice, the whole domain of the moral world, was merely a matter of calculation, in which the wise succeeded and the weak failed; no feeling, no habit of mind led him to be more cruel or more merciful, more liberal or more mean, more daring or more cautious, than the occasion seemed to require whether it was to gain an alliance, or to destroy an enemy—whether to attach an ancient noble to his household, or to raise a dragoon to the rank of a marshal, and endow him with the estate of a prince—whether to exhibit himself as the severe censor of female character and

conduct, or to encourage by every art extravagant expenditure in all those attached to his court, as the old and sure means of securing dependence on his will, and submission to his power. Every virtue and every fault of his private life, was dictated by this spirit of calculation, in which he had stifled every sentiment of his heart, and to which he had reduced every inspiration of his genius. “Ses injures sérieuses, ses vives apostrophes, l'éclat de sa colère, tout cela étoit ‘calculé et préparé d'avance.’” (1)

His vast military talents, his unparalleled power of wielding immense bodies of men, his no less astonishing alacrity at organising his conquests (2),

(1) “Un des plus grands malheurs de Bonaparte étoit de ‘ne pas croire à l'amitié, et de ne pas éprouver le besoin ‘d'aimer, le sentiment le plus doux donné à l'homme.— ‘Combien de fois ne m'a-t-il pas dit, ‘L'amitié n'est qu'un ‘mot, je n'aime personne, pas même mes frères.— Joseph ‘peut-être un peu — encore si je l'aime, c'est par habitude. ‘C'est parcequ'il est mon ainé.’” Such a reason for affection or friendship, proves how little the person avowing it was capable of either.

See *Bourienne's Mémoires*, vol. iii. p. 118.

(2) Bourienne speaking of the first days of his occupation of Cairo, on the Egyptian expedition, says, “Il faut l'avoir

his marvellous activity and resources, are all recorded by many, equally able to judge and to criticise them. They are only considered here as they affected his private character, and his influence on the social existence of his contemporaries. Comparisons have been lately instituted between his character and that of Cromwell. It appears to the author, that the grounds from whence they started, were on too entirely different a level,—the political situation of England before the civil war, and of France before her revolution, were too essentially dissimilar to admit of any satisfactory parallel.

The people of England, in 1642, required security for their civil liberties, by the obligation of frequent parliaments, the reformation of the courts of justice, and by the independence of the judges. The general morals of the country had suffered little from the degrading reign of James I., which had disgusted, rather than

“ vu dans ces temps où il étoit dans toute la force de
“ sa jeunesse; rien n'échappoit à sa rare intelligence, à sa
“ prodigieuse activité.” — Vol. ii. p. 118.

seduced; and the characters who immediately appeared, and who were produced by the great ensuing struggle, proved the intellectual health and strength of the country.

The government of France, before 1789, was that of Turkey, without the bowstring, and with such ameliorations only as were produced by the progression of public opinion, and the general improvement of Europe. Her moral existence was corrupted to the core. Were it not for a mass of contemporary evidence, it would be difficult to believe either the private or the political profligacy to which France was abandoned from the death of Louis XIV. to her revolution. At that great crisis the tone of her sentiments, at once false and exaggerated, seemed incapable of producing, during the first twelve years of her emancipation, any thing but visionaries and assassins.

Cromwell destroyed all the established laws of a representative government, and broke down every barrier existing between the king and the people, to possess himself of an unconstitutional power. Having reduced his country to military

subjection, and enforced the perpetration of an act, which has justly been described by a late writer as no less impolitic than it was illegal (1), he possessed himself of more than regal power, and was then obliged to re-establish most of the institutions he had destroyed, as the best supports of his own authority.

Bonaparte did not “steal the precious diadem “from a shelf,” but found it in the kennel; placed it on his own head; surrounded himself with new institutions, and with the *semblance* of a much more liberal, and the *reality* of a much more efficient, government than France had ever before experienced.

Had Bonaparte been placed in the situation of Cromwell, we cannot but suppose he would have been equally jealous of the honour of the country in all its foreign relations, and equally eager to support its rights and to enforce its

(1) “The blow which terminated his (Charles the First) life, at once transferred the allegiance of every royalist “to an heir; and an heir who was at liberty; — to kill “the individual was truly, under such circumstances, not “to destroy, but to release the King.”

Edinburgh Review, No. 95. p. 139.

claims by arms ; while we can hardly believe he would have left it internally the prey of two factious and canting sects, who brought religion into disrepute even with the pious, and laboured especially to stop the progress of that cultivation of mind, and those liberal studies, which the general improvement of the age required.

Had Cromwell, whose mind, either naturally confused, or habitually ill-arranged by the hypocrisy which he had made natural to him — Had Cromwell been placed in the situation of Bonaparte, would he have been able to embrace at once all the wants, and to give energy to all the various constituent parts of a great empire ; to encourage her arts, while he triumphed with her arms ; to restore worship in her churches, and respect to her religion, activity to her manufactures, education to her youth, and reason and equity to her new-modelled laws ?

What Cromwell did, he did well. He was certainly the first among those bold and determined spirits who sought the liberties of their country in the field, after having struggled in

vain to obtain them otherwise. But the theatre of his military exploits was neither various nor extensive ; and perhaps the most laudable part of his character was his avoiding occasions of making it more so. He began public life too late to allow much change to take place in his social habits. No great praise, therefore, can be due to his forbearance, in living at Whitehall without much exterior pomp and magnificence, in allowing his son to remain a mere Hertfordshire squire, and his wife a mere frugal housekeeper. His distribution of England into military districts, under the authority of major-generals, accords ill with his panegyrist's opinion, that "even when "almost compelled to govern by the sword, he "was still anxious to leave a germ from which, at "a more favourable season, free institutions might "spring." * He left his absolute authority as entirely without any stipulations for the future security of the people, or any constitutional checks on his usurped power, as ever Bonaparte did, when he graciously signified to the French nation, that he was willing to withdraw himself,

* Edinburgh Review, No. 95. p. 143.

and to entail on them his son and his despotism to all generations.

Cromwell died “with all his blushing honours “thick upon him,” at an age when he might be forgiven for thinking that he had yet time to make final arrangements. But the great culprit, whom united Europe accused, against whom millions of witnesses deposed, after having broken faith with those whom he affected to consider separately as only his equals, but all of whom he had treated as his slaves, was at last overtaken by punishment — by punishment in no way commensurate or relative to his moral perversity or his moral merits, which can be judged only at the great tribunal of Heaven. But to his continued aggressions against the lives and happiness, the social rights and independent existence, of his fellow-creatures. Confinement to a small island, where he was precluded from the possibility of doing either harm or good, while no difficulties were thrown in the way of his quiet existence, (except those which he obstinately created to himself,) will be considered by posterity, when all contemporary prejudices, passions, and vani-

ties are forgotten, to have been neither an unappropriate nor an unmerciful punishment for *such* a delinquent. That the office of his gaoler should have devolved on England will then be attributed to its true and honourable cause, that amidst combined Europe *her* moral faith alone was equally trusted by all her allies.

CHAP. V.

FRANCE IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE RESTORATION OF THE BOURBONS. — UNWISE MEASURES WHICH LED TO THE RETURN FROM ELBA. — EFFECTS OF THE ENORMOUS ARMIES BROUGHT TOGETHER FOR, AND AGAINST, BONAPARTE. — CONDUCT OF THE ROYALISTS IN 1815. — GENERAL DISSATISFACTION DURING THE FIRST TEN YEARS OF PEACE, BOTH IN ENGLAND AND FRANCE. — DUKE OF BERRY'S ASSASSINATION. — ITS EFFECTS ON THE GOVERNMENT. — NATIONAL PROSPERITY OF FRANCE. — NUMBER OF ENGLISH IN PARIS. — CHANGE IN FRENCH SOCIETY SINCE THE RESTORATION. — REASONS OF DISCONTENT EXISTING IN ALL ITS CLASSES. — SOCIAL HABITS OF THE NATION RESUMING THEIR SWAY. — THEIR EFFECTS ON THE DIFFERENT ORDERS OF SOCIETY.

WHEN France began at last to open her eyes to the character and the intentions of her conquering chief — when Fortune, wearied by his unreasonable demands on her, at last abandoned

him — when indignant Europe at last succeeded in recovering that independence which her states had separately lost, — a new era in the social existence of France may be said to have commenced. In considering its peculiarities, the ten months' reign of Louis, and the hundred days' of Napoleon, must be set against each other, and our speculations begin after the second restoration, in 1815. It would be invidious, on the one hand, to dwell in detail on the foolish and contemptible pretensions of many who had left their country as fugitives, and returned to it with the airs of conquerors; or to notice, on the other hand, the sudden convictions of the insufficiency of the Charter, and the want of faith in its donor, while unlimited confidence was immediately obtained for an *Acte additionel* to an already experienced despotism, and to a *Champ de Mai*, whose power and whose promises nobody even pretended to understand.

As the second return of Louis and his family to the capital was unfortunately accompanied by 150,000 foreign troops, and by the conqueror of Waterloo ; by a great pecuniary imposition,

and by the military occupation of the frontiers, we cannot wonder at the discontent, the mortification, and the ill humour of France during the first years of the peace — a peace whose terms, the circumstances in which they were granted, and the sacrifices they entailed, might (if nations were taught by experience) have materially assisted in advancing that political education, in which France seems still to have much to learn. The restored regal government appeared at first to act as if insensible to the mighty change effected during the five and twenty foregone years ; certainly the most eventful that had ever taken place in the civilised world. The administration appeared to forget, that the spirit of religious toleration was now professed by all sects of Christians. The revolutionary spirit had raged most intensely in the southern provinces of France, where the wealth, importance, and liberal sentiments of the Protestant part of the population had made them the first and most active leaders in the ill-directed pursuit of civil liberty. The government now allowed a re-action to take place, which sheltered the vilest

crimes under the banner of loyalty, and afterwards allowed the same pretence to succeed in procuring for those crimes a disgraceful impunity. The returned royalists had forgotten that a generation had arisen during their absence, to whom the restored royal family were strangers,—a generation who had been brought up in an age of military glory founded on *their* adversity, and whose vanity had been flattered in a brilliant court, which was that of *their* enemy. They had forgotten, in their long absence, and their intercourse with other nations, the distinctive characteristics of their own,—its excessive vanity, the mobility of its sentiments, and its active and buoyant mind. The unexampled military glory acquired under the tri-coloured cockade made the re-adoption of the white so repugnant to the feelings of the whole military population, that it is perhaps not too much to say that hopes of the success of Napoleon's return from Elba might have been crushed by a change in the colour of a riband !

The irritable vanity of the new nobility, not satisfied with their recognition by the restored

monarch, led them to suspect a contempt for their honours, and a disinclination to their society, in the old nobility ; while the sober intelligence of all the best heads of France in every order of the state saw with regret the regal government profiting by many of the abuses, and adopting none of the improvements, which had been introduced into the administration of the empire. The consequences are too well known ; — their arch enemy took advantage of the glaring misconduct of the government, and counted on the credulity and the mobility of the people, by which he well knew half his former successes had been obtained.

How truly he calculated, the event showed ; and Europe and France have still, in their burdened finances, and their increased standing armies, to curse the last effort of a wild and selfish ambition, which has prolonged their financial difficulties, and furnished an excuse for the maintenance of their armies.

That the principles and conduct of Bonaparte's government, both consular and imperial, had retrograded the moral improvement of France, in all feeling and practice of truth and good faith,

the conduct both of Ney and La Valette (however considered as martyrs by their party) sufficiently prove. The one falsifying not only his professional oaths, but his individual and solemn promises to Louis, reiterating them at night to his army at *Lons-le-Saulnier*, and the next morning waving his hat for Napoleon. The other at the head of the Post Office, appointed by and having sworn fidelity to Louis, stopping the despatches of his government, and forwarding those of the usurper (for *usurper*, after his return from Elba, if there is any meaning in language, he must be called). These persons, and many others in nearly similar situations, claiming with assurance exemption from the name and from the punishment of traitors, prove an absence of any clear perception of truth and good faith. The same great defect had destroyed the old government, where it had penetrated every order of the state, and insulated every one in the circle of his own interests. It had led to all the excesses that followed; it had undermined the towering glory of Bonaparte; it had restored him by the same false means, to meet a worse fate; and

even now it is the great and fundamental cause that, in spite of all the increased and increasing intelligence, experience, and intellectual lights of France—even now prevents her government from doing half it might, and her people from reaping half the advantages of their commanding situation. (1)

The frequent recurrence to a principle which is more palpable when treated in detail, and applied to individual circumstances, than thus generalised, may possibly be ridiculed by many. But the author abandons with confidence the general assertion to every deeply thinking mind, convinced that in all circumstances (unconnected with party or with petty politics) the application of this principle of truth and good faith to the affairs of men will be found to give the exact measure of good or evil in human institutions.

On the cessation of a state of warfare which had lasted above twenty-five years, the natural impatience of mankind to profit immediately by the advantages of peace,—advantages which had been so often held out to them as the reward of

(1) This was written before the revolution of July, 1830.

all their sacrifices, and the term of all their labours,—created general discontent. It gave rise every where to ill-judged regrets of the past, and impossible schemes to remedy the present. It was in vain to attempt avoiding the *unavoidable* evil of a third part of the active population of a whole country at once changing their means and their habits of existence, and being returned into society on a peace establishment. It was equally impossible, their being immediately absorbed into the regular and healthy circulation of their country. Yet how necessary this return to peace was (whatever its inconveniences), the very evils here enumerated eminently proved. Had a state of warfare continued but a few years longer, or had Bonaparte's political existence been prolonged, war would have become the habitual state of European society, and intervals of peace merely occasional. The enormous bodies of men which Bonaparte had occasioned to be brought, and to be kept together so long, both for and against his power, had engrossed so great a portion of the population of the countries to which they belonged, that they had become separately constituted bodies. When they met

at last, in one great focus at Paris, in the year 1815, they were so dangerously near discovering their own immense numerical force — so near generating a spirit of independent power, and of dictating to their leaders—that the greatest captain of the present day has since confessed, that he and his associates in command found the necessity of securing terms of peace, and allowing the retreat of the French army beyond the Loire, to facilitate the immediate dispersion of the other great armed associations of Europe, which could not with impunity have remained longer in contact.

In England, the impatience at not immediately experiencing the benefits of peace was as severely felt as in France. Here the great body of the people had been spared the spectacle of the ravages of war. Its evils had been principally felt in the embarrassed state of commerce, and the immense burden of taxation. To freedom for the first, and to relief from the second, they looked with a confidence which the enormous expenses and after-reckonings of so long a state of warfare made it impossible to satisfy. From

this impatience arose immense and ill-combined mercantile speculations, which overstocked all the markets of the world with the manufactures of England, and increased the evil they sought to relieve. The same causes, within a few years, produced a mania of projects, of associations, and of joint-stock companies, which nearly rivalled the bubbles of the famous South Sea year (1721), both in the knavery of the projectors, the folly of those who trusted them, and the distress and bankruptcy which they shortly produced. There were mining companies for every part of the world ; Eldorado, it seemed, was believed really to exist in South America. The funds of these mining companies rose and fell twenty and thirty per cent. in the course of a week ; and the sums sometimes obtained in the gambling speculations of buying one day, to sell the next, led to the serious loss of thousands. After the mining companies, which, from some idea of having to do with the actual production and increase of money, seem always to have been favourites in all scheming times, came a company to weigh up the specie sunk in the Spanish

galleons at Vigo, eighty years before! — a company of pearl-fishers, to supply the world with more pearls than had ever been before produced. Then, for those liking to place their money nearer home, there were companies for supplying the metropolis with milk and cream — general washing companies — companies for brick-making — and many other similar schemes, whose detail filled the columns of the newspapers for nearly a twelvemonth, and then disappeared “like the baseless fabric of a vision,” leaving only a considerable deficit in the pockets of all concerned, except the treasurers and secretaries, and a few fraudulent speculators, who were generally the authors of the schemes in question, for the purpose of plundering their more gullable associates.

The population of France, not having these resources (such as they were) to occupy their unemployed activity and capital, it was found a more difficult task to amalgamate the discordant elements out of which was to be formed a representative government, to administer their now chartered rights. The younger part of the popula-

tion, born to ideas of liberty and equality, had had their understanding confused, and their political education marred, by the dazzling despotism of Bonaparte. The demagogues who had survived the furies of the Reign of Terror, and whose impotent rage had sunk into insignificance, anxiously watched and sought the means of creating confusion, which could alone bring them again to the surface. The republicans, who were yet dreaming of attaining their visionary end by a violent re-action from the late despotism — the real patriots of 1789, whose desire of rational freedom had been as unalterable as their attempts towards it had been misguided, felt awkward that, after having passed through “such variety of wretchedness” in forms of government, they should be at last found quietly submitting to arbitrary power forced down their throats, with the prostituted phraseology of freedom, and under the name of institutions to which they had attached ideas of liberty. To all these must be added the old inveterate upholders of all the prejudices and pretensions of their own age, martyrs to ideas which found no longer any

sympathy, and sufferers from causes honoured by none but themselves ; resting the whole pretensions of a great body of insignificant, but of inveterably obstinate people, on the faithful and devoted attachment of a part of their order to the fallen and desperate fortunes of their sovereign and his family ; claiming remuneration for losses which (for the most part) their own errors had incurred, and which the country regarded with a jealous eye.

It belongs not to this work to enter into details of the various parties and fractions of parties which were engendered in this incongruous mass ; of the various administrations, composed, and altered, and dismissed, and composed again, to be again dismissed ; of the many suspected plots for indefinite ends, and petty conspiracies of insignificant and powerless individuals, which clogged and impeded the wholesome progress of the constitutional monarchy during the first ten years of its existence. The violence of party feelings, and the bitterness of adverse opinions, were infinitely greater after the second restoration than they had been after

the first. The enormous national *mistake* (to give it no harsher name) which allowed the return of Bonaparte, demanded a severe national expiation. A great and enlightened people, who had been reasoning, acting, and suffering for above a quarter of a century, to secure political freedom, allowing themselves to be replaced by their *own* armed force, under the iron sceptre of a military despot, instead of wisely securing all they further wanted, from a sovereign power capable to grant, but too weak to refuse them—an army which had been allowed thus to dispose of the liberties, laws, and securities of their country,—*must* both expect severe retribution to follow such monstrous offences against reason, good faith, and common sense. Hence, when awokened by the cannon of Waterloo from the feverish and bewildered dream of the hundred days, the nation was exposed to all the excesses of the year 1815; and the first assembly of its representatives under its constitutional king, almost rivalled the judicial cruelties of the revolutionary tribunals; and the agents it employed, their violence. Hence the army made its disbandment

necessary, and any amalgamation with that of the reigning sovereign difficult and dangerous.

Notwithstanding all these jarring elements — notwithstanding the dissonance, the excitement, and the disrespectability (if the term may be allowed) of the political world of France at this period — had the government, after having wisely prefaced its assumption of power by the grant of a charter assuring every means of rational liberty ; had it as wisely proved itself to be advancing openly and decidedly in the sense of that charter, interpreting its articles liberally, and acting in its spirit ; it would have set an example of confidence and good faith, which must have created similar sentiments. It must have convinced the republicans that liberty was compatible with a constitutional monarchy ; it must have destroyed every hope of the anarchists, and of the Bonapartists, and gratified every wish of the patriots of 1789 ; but, unfortunately, the government seemed always acting under an impression of the same want of confidence that it inspired. A rapid change of councils and of counsellors kept the people and

their representatives in perpetual doubt and anxiety with regard to the two great points on which, in fact, hinged the peace and satisfaction of the country, and the stability of the throne — the law of their popular elections, and the security of their national domains.

Neither the ministers of the crown, nor the deputies of the people, had as yet acquired, or were prepared to act, on the true principles of a representative government. The most liberal of their politicians still dwelt on and deprecated the misconduct and weakness of individuals, instead of profiting by that weakness, to secure and confirm institutions, which can alone render governments independent of personal character. The counsellors of their princes seemed to consider every concession to the wishes of the people a diminution of *their* power and security. They were frightened at every trifling expression of popular feeling, which they repressed, instead of allowing to evaporate, and thus clear the political atmosphere, by proving that such passing clouds have no power to affect the mild temperature of a representative government; thus convincing the liberals that their estates were safe and their

rights secure, in spite of all the ridiculous doctrines and silly conduct of the ultra-royalists ; and convincing the ultra-royalists that neither anarchy, proscriptions, nor confusion, ensued from a limited monarchy and the freedom of the press. In the mean time, the people at large were, in fact, enjoying quiet and prosperity. By their natural mobility of spirit, they had returned to habits of peaceful occupation ; agriculture was active — commerce improving — industry inventive and enterprising — building and repairs going on in every little town and village — gardens surrounding almost every cottage — and various marks of national ease and welfare. The insulated crime of the assassination of the Duc de Berri, in February, 1820, afforded, at the moment in which it happened, a convincing proof of the advance made by the public mind in the true principles of penal government, and the aid they already received from public opinion. Instead of the severe, strange, and cruel precautionary measures, which were taken on former attempts at similar crimes in the old monarchy ; this startling event, although it took place the

very night before three strong restrictive measures — on the civil liberty of the subject, on the liberty of the press, and on the law of elections were to be brought forward by the ministers of the Crown in the Chamber of Deputies, produced no arrests but that of the criminal himself. The barriers of Paris were never shut. His examination was conducted according to the existing laws, and the culprit meanwhile treated much like other criminals; and this, notwithstanding a great part of the court, and those attached to it, professed to believe, and actually to accuse a favourite minister of the King of having been an accessory and an accomplice in the murder of his nephew. (1) When the strange local colour-

(1) When Madame de Cazes (the wife of the minister) went to St. Cloud four days after the event, as all the Court and all the ministers had done, to make their enquiries after the Duchesse de Berri, no living soul spoke to her, except a very few civil words addressed to her out of compassion by the Comtesse de N..... The Princes were obliged to pass through the apartment in which she was waiting, and both Charles Dix (then Monsieur) and the Duchesse d'Angoulême hurried through the room, turning their faces away from her, — while their attendants exclaimed, almost within her hearing, at the *audace* of her venturing under the very roof of their victim.

ing of these times shall have faded and passed away, it will be difficult to extort belief for the existence of such a perversion of reason and common sense, in any part of a great community, at the same moment that an improvement was manifested in the judgment and conduct of the whole. Had Louis the Eighteenth possessed energy of mind, and purity of political intention, sufficient to have resisted the prayers of his family, and the clamour of those who basely gave in to a calumny which it was impossible to suppose they could believe, his favourite, Decazes, remaining minister, must necessarily have strengthened his administration, by calling in some of the most distinguished of the constitutional party ; and might possibly have succeeded in giving France a strong, efficient, and liberal administration, acting in the sense and on the principles of the charter.

Peace had no sooner been restored, and the social relations of Europe relieved from dependence on the breath of a military despot, than England poured forth her islanders, impatient of their confinement, but resolved never again to

risk a residence at Verdun in exchange for it. Paris was immediately filled with all the young, and all the rich, and all the idle, who had been so long denied participation in pleasures, and gaieties, and grandeurs, of which either they had heard so much, or of which they had retained such agreeable recollections. Many arrived with ideas of intimate friendships contracted with French individuals in emigration, by whom they conceived they were to be received with such grateful remembrance of the past, as would lead to a renewal of former intimacy, and to much enjoyment in their society.

All pretenders to beauty or wit anticipated a new theatre for their successes in regenerated France, which, from all it had gained, and all it had lost, by its revolution, would be more aware of their merits, and more willing to do justice to them. All those who remembered France in the moment of Anglo-mania which immediately preceded the Revolution, fancied that they should still find some remains of goodwill to the country which she had then looked to as her model, and some respect for those who had so long preceded

her in the enjoyment of civil liberty. All our men of science were eager to make the acquaintance and seek the society of those, distinguished by similar pursuits in France. To their acquirements they had always done ample justice, and they sought to re-establish that communication of discoveries and improvements, which the late troubled state of Europe had somewhat interrupted. In these expectations every one was, more or less, disappointed.

The young and gay, who came full of the reputed charms and perfection of French society, found *that* into which they were admitted much less gay, more formal, and more uniform than their own. All pretensions, whether to beauty, or wit, or talents, instead of being allowed, were hardly noticed, or noticed only to be criticised. Those who brought testimonials of any sort of social distinction in their own country, were those the most severely judged. The favourites, if any, were always selected from among persons hitherto unnoticed at home — no one acquaintance led to another. The women in the first society made it a rule that no one was to pro-

pose the introduction of a foreigner. This restriction, indeed, was for the most part confined to the female sex ; but our young Englishmen found so much to occupy them in the public amusements, the theatres, and the various interests of a great metropolis, that very few of them ever submitted to undergo the severe noviciate required by French society, in order to attain any degree of ease and intimacy in it. Our Ladies certainly seemed to receive an intimation from those of France, that *they* had renounced all idea of ever leaving their own country again, by their marked neglect of the travellers of all other countries. The remembrances of emigration could not be agreeable, and, consequently, the debts of friendship were in general paid as succinctly and with as little trouble as possible, without any renewal of past intimacy. Those old enough to remember the opinions of France for England before the Revolution, heard with astonishment all the vulgar prejudices against her constitution, her laws, and her public principles, which had been propagated by Bonaparte, repeated not only by those of his

fallen party, but by the returned royalists, and by the professed constitutionalists.

The supercilious manners of some of the greatest names in science, and their unaccommodating ignorance, or obstinacy, in not speaking our language themselves, or being patient and indulgent to their own language ill-spoken, made their social communications with most of our men of science dry and unsatisfactory—rendered them insensible to the colloquial merits of a Playfair, and ignorant of many other hardly less interesting and unpretending characters.

The loss of fortune in the Revolution, and the general derangement of affairs from the recent disturbances, was a sufficient excuse for an absence of hospitality. During the first five or six years after the restoration, all the great fêtes and entertainments were almost exclusively given by the diplomatic body, or by some of the foreign individuals then established at Paris. The eagerness evinced to be present on all these occasions, proved that the national taste for dissipation had in no respect diminished with the means of indulging in it.

When the society of the metropolis again re-assembled under the restored monarchy, all found that their own domestic habits had undergone a material change. The business of a representative government, which occupied not only those belonging to the two Chambers, but likewise the many dependent on them, necessarily influenced the hour of all social meetings. Dinners at six o'clock were almost too late to admit of the theatres forming a part of the amusement of the evening as formerly, and precluded the habit of supping, or of making suppers the social meal. The residence of the sovereign and his family, and all attached to them, — the ministers and the public officers being now in Paris, instead of at twelve miles distance from it, immensely increased the numbers of those frequenting the Court, the levees of ministers, and all other public meetings.

The many persons who had been called into society during the last thirty years by the events of the Revolution, — those who had now retired from the command of armies, or from the pro-consular powers which had been delegated by

Bonaparte, — all now poured into the society of Paris — all brought with them pretensions and recollections founded on the *past*, which indisposed them to be satisfied with the *present*.

The recent nobility regretted the extravagant splendour of the Imperial Court, where they flourished unrivalled, and free from any awkward comparisons or mortifying neglects. The old nobility remembered the more select and chosen society of Maria Antoinette, and mourned over that refinement of manners, and those exclusive distinctions, which were allowed by the prejudices of the day, and secured by the ridicule that would have followed the slightest neglect, or the slightest infringement of them. The military, who had seen crowns and coronets distributed among their ranks during the empire, found it difficult to confine their views and their ambition to the honours and distinctions of their profession, when reduced to the existence which belongs to it in the due administration of a constitutional monarchy.

Among the lower orders, throughout all the class of servants, shopkeepers, and workmen,

all those who, incapable of abstract reasoning on matters of government, are struck only by the immediate associations around them — all had, either in their own families, or those of their acquaintance, witnessed such sudden elevations of fortune — such distinctions of rank or of riches, acquired by their equals, their school-fellows, or their fellow labourers, that, mistaking the arbitrary will and partial benefactions of despotic power, for equality of rights, they all regretted a government where such distinctions (no matter by what means) were attainable ; it was to them a lottery, where every one was content to lose something, and many to be ruined, provided only that their chance for the 20,000*l.* prize was still open.

Great assemblies, crowded balls, and dinners of forty people, which had been exploded from London, seemed to have been adopted at Paris, little to the advantage of the real purposes or enjoyments of society. But these enjoyments were still more destroyed by the rancour of party feeling, and the violence of political opinions : one half of the world could not meet the other

half, except in an assembly large enough to allow each to avoid the other.

Literature, the theatre, science, every thing but politics, were banished from conversation; and these politics were so discordant, that their discussion could only take place among persons of the same side of the question. Even in houses where, from the proprietors being of domestic habits, and having no political character to support, the society was small enough to have admitted conversation, the men all retired into groups, talking of the subject of the day among themselves, and the women were left seated, in sad symmetry, opposite to each other, without any encouragement or help towards amusement.

But these unsocial habits could not long maintain their ground in social France. The respectable of all parties, forgetting former opinions, began to respect each other. The young women had received an education in every way superior to that of former days. They united, to the perfect good manners to which those days exclusively pretended, principles of conduct, and acquirements which were rare be-

fore. Marriages were soon contracted between the new nobility and the old, which afforded mutual advantages, duly appreciated by both. These marriages, though still arranged by parents, were, for the most part, settled with such regard to the tastes and wishes of the contracting parties, as to make them feel responsible for their subsequent conduct. Domestic habits had become as much the *fashion*, as the contrary had been in other times. Husbands and wives visited together, and generally, although not exclusively, frequented the same societies. What would have been remarked on and distinguished as a *bon ménage* in former days, was now, apparently, that of all the world. Social habits, by degrees, were again adopted; persons were again found in their own houses in the evening, without a crowd; a certain number of intimates were sure to assemble round them; conversation again resumed its value, was lively and trifling without vapidity, and grave without prosing or dulness. A language singularly calculated for colloquial purposes (perhaps from having been more and longer applied to them than any other)

was again made the medium of that quick perception of character, those accurate shades of sentiment, that playful versatility of imagination, and that power of making serious subjects assume a familiar form, which mark French conversation in its best manner. Talents, if possessed, were produced without difficulty or affectation; they were considered as the property of the society, to be drawn on at pleasure, but for which the possessor was amply repaid by the applause which they certainly produced. Nobody remained longer in these societies than they wished, or left them sooner; — nobody, therefore, thought it necessary to apologize for accidental dulness, or to torment themselves with efforts to excite gaiety. Nobody went to one place that they might be asked to another, which they, in fact, cared equally little about. Balls and great meetings were, for the most part, left to the young of both sexes. “Les veterans “de la fatuité” were less numerous; in short, society in the upper classes began to exhibit those best forms which did, and do, and it is to be hoped ever will, distinguish France. Among the

bourgeoisie and in the commercial world, a change hardly less remarkable, and an improvement not less perceptible, had taken place. The fashionable tradespeople, and professors of the arts of luxury, now feeling independent of all protection from their superiors, trusted entirely to the superiority of their talent, or their taste, for success ; and, secure of their means of independence, were become quiet and unassuming in their manners and appearance. A first-rate mantua-maker or milliner was at the same time a *bonne mère de famille*, and attended to her business in a dress, and with manners, which precluded all ideas of lightness of conduct. Their élèves, for the most part, sought, by industry, good conduct, and cleverness in business, to recommend themselves to a marriage in their own line of life, where the women are generally found the most active and intelligent assistants in conducting the business of their husbands.

Among the common people there existed always the same social dispositions — the same love of harmless gaiety and dancing in their hours of relaxation — the same happy disposition

to enjoy life as it passes, to spend the produce of their labour with little memory of the past, and still less care for the future ; but always with a spirit of social intelligence, of decency and good breeding, an amenity of manners towards the female sex, and an absence of all disgusting excesses, which mark and distinguish the character of the lower orders of people in France from the same rank in any other country : (1) a character which resisted even the political agitations of the Revolution ; except when, under the immediate excitement of the demagogues of the day,

(1) The author remembers, in the year 1802, at the commencement of the consulate of Bonaparte, to have been present at a meeting in Paris, known under the name of *Les Soirées amusantes*, where the entry was thirty sous for the gentleman, with liberty to bring a lady along with him. Of the thirty sous, either of the parties might have ten sous *en consommation*, that is to say, any refreshment taxed at that sum by the proprietors of the establishment. At this meeting however composed, (and certainly nothing calling itself *good company* entered into that composition,) every thing was as orderly and well behaved, as entirely without violence, noise, or impropriety of any kind, as could have been the case in the first ball-room in Paris.

the whole population was assimilated with those dregs of society, which, for its disgrace, exist in all great cities, and are always capable of being stirred up to the surface.

CHAP. VI.

THE DOMESTIC HABITS OF FRANCE MUCH IMPROVED SINCE THE REVOLUTION.—THE ALTERED HABITS OF THE YOUNG MEN. — THEATRE NOT REPRESENTING THE IMPROVED MORALS OF THE DAY.—FRANCE NOW REAPING WHAT BENEFITS COULD BE DERIVED FROM EMIGRATION.—ARCHITECTURE A PROOF OF THE POLITICAL AND SOCIAL STATE OF A COUNTRY.—PRESENT STATE OF BUILDINGS IN FRANCE.—ENGLAND LESS ALTERED THAN FRANCE SINCE THE REVOLUTION. — APPLICATION OF THE GREAT DISCOVERIES IN SCIENCE PRODUCING AN IMPROVED STATE OF GENERAL EXISTENCE. — INEVITABLE EVILS BROUGHT ALONG WITH IT. — THEIR EFFECTS ON THE CHARACTER OF FRANCE AND ENGLAND.

IN resuming the circumstances relative to the social life of England and France which have passed in review in the foregoing pages — in adverting particularly to the situation in which fifteen years of peace have now placed the two countries — we shall, it is believed, be led to a conclusion, that France has gained most in a

moral and political point of view, and England in the details of social life.

The ordeal through which France passed during her Revolution, so necessary to the entire regeneration of the upper classes of her society, has produced effects on her moral habits, which no one, but those ignorant of what they were before that period, can either mistake or deny. Children are no longer separated from their parents immediately after their birth, and sent into the country to be nursed by strangers : they are no longer deprived of those first impressions of tenderness, so powerful in influencing future character, when proceeding from the persons by whom they ought to be excited. They no longer return to the paternal house almost strangers to their parents, while those parents, who had shared none of the anxiety as well as none of the pleasure of rearing their infancy, could hardly have been aware of the social duties imposed on them.

The necessary consequence of the former habits had been, that, from a home where the father and mother often lived almost as much

separated from each other as from their children; the girls were better placed in a convent, and the boys had a better chance of leading a regular life in a garrison, than at home, with an abbé for a tutor, who winked at their faults and at their idleness, to allow of his own ; and with a father who troubled his head neither with tutor nor pupil. The lively account given by Madame de Genlis of the family of the Vicomte de Limours, in her “*Adèle et Theodore,*” contains a true and accurate picture of the common education of the higher ranks before the Revolution, and of its effects in after life. Such an education duly prepared for such marriages as were then contracted exclusively by the will of parents, and were considered by the children exclusively as the means of liberty and emancipation from their control.

From this unengaging picture of domestic life, if we look around us at the present day, we shall find infancy reared in the bosom of parents with such rational and well-understood care of early education, both physical and moral, that the children of France are now remarkable for

their beauty, activity, and intelligence. The girls remain at home under the eye of their mother, and generally (with the assistance of an English servant or governess) are acquiring two languages almost as soon as they can articulate either; grammar and history are often taught them by frequenting classes of their own age, where the utmost industry and attention are necessary to satisfy the extreme emulation that is excited. The accomplishments generally considered as most essential to females are given in no superficial manner; while they are, at the same time, taught to consider them in the secondary light they deserve,—more for social purposes, or for solitary resource, than for show, or to exhibit the talents of an artist, where an artist will always surpass them.

Their marriages are no longer arranged at an age when they cannot have a choice, and ought not to have a will of their own. But, accustomed to rely on their parent for the initiative on this important subject, they enjoy, without any degrading considerations of interest, or any humiliating advances, the pleasures of their age, free

from an anticipation of the cares of future life. It must be added, that the now equal division of property between all the children of the same marriage (whatever may be its political tendency or consequences) certainly conduces to domestic peace, and the union and good-will of families. The children have nothing to envy, and nothing to expect from each other ; no sisters are condemned to convents to increase the family succession — no brother sees with envious eyes the indulgences and the expenses of his elder.

An improvement hardly less remarkable has taken place in the education and pursuits of the young men. When the first rudiments of learning instilled into them as children are over, they almost universally follow courses of instruction under tutors in public colleges. These are followed up by series of lectures on all the great subjects most interesting to society and to science, given in various national institutions by the most eminent intellects of the country—persons whose researches have neither abstracted them from its society, nor from its political interests ; an advantage, perhaps, yet greater to the pupils than to

the professors. How much such advantages are afterwards improved, must depend on the ability and industry with which they are followed up : but idleness, so far from being a fashion, is become a ridicule, and ignorance a slur, which every young man, whatever his pretensions, would wish to avoid. With the altered times, and the improved state of domestic morality, the current both of the follies and of the expenses of youth has altered. From a home where their parents are living in good intelligence with each other, and no longer strangers to their children, they are no longer driven into early debauchery as a resource from idleness — are no longer taught to consider the reputation of a libertine as either graceful or distinguishing. The whole race of courtezans no longer affront public propriety by the ostentatious display of their ill-gotten gains : and those who frequent their society, or fall into connections with them, throw a veil over what they would formerly have professed and boasted of. A still greater change has taken place in the habits of the young men in respect to general gallantry, and that constant occupation in the society of

women, which formerly belonged to Frenchmen of every age : these habits, together with the profession of a man *d bonnes fortunes*, are now equally out of date : the first would be despised as a trifler, and the second avoided as worse. The improvement in domestic habits and happiness has quite altered the terms on which the influence of women yet exists and flourishes in France : they aim rather at being the centre of a society, than at individual conquests ; and at influencing by the general charm of their manners, or by an imposing respectability of character, rather than seeking by petty intrigues to compass some intended purpose — something to be attained, or to be concealed, by equally despicable means.

The marriages of young men, so far from being considered, as with us, a step in life which none but the rich can prudently take, is here, by the equal distribution of property, counted on as a certain means of increase of fortune, generally bringing more into the common stock than the expenses arising from it. Such marriages are, for the most part, contracted while the parents

are yet of an age to partake of, and enjoy society. The establishment, therefore, of the new-married couple in the paternal house for the first years of their union, which sometimes forms an article of the marriage contract, is often without confinement or regret to the young people, and generally a comfort and amusement to their seniors.

This younger generation, which has been born to ideas of liberty, and nursed in political discussions — which has received a better education than their fathers, and lived in more enlightened times — view former discords and prejudices in the light of history, and without the irritation either of self-suffering or self-mortification. They may well, therefore, be allowed to suppose that their admission into the councils of their country, in the Chamber of Deputies, at an earlier age, would be a measure likely to render that assembly less factious, more united in opinion, less extravagant in projects, and more capable of establishing on its true principles a representative government, than the two Chambers constituted as at present. At the same time the possibility of young men entering

sooner into an active political life would encourage that turn for serious occupation, and the acquirement of solid instruction, which marks the present æra.

A residence at their country seats being no longer prescribed to them, under the name of exile, as a punishment in consequence of what was called disgrace at Court, a country life has become fashionable. All those possessing country houses pass many months at them, wisely taking that part of the year which is most favourable to the real enjoyment of the country; while much expense and attention are bestowed both in the ornament and the improvement of these residences. No dismissed minister will ever again be sent, as a punishment, to *his Chanteloup* — no leave be ever again required from Court to visit him there.

Whatever may yet be the insecurity or insufficiency of the political institutions of the French, personal liberty is as completely enjoyed and established, as if *lettres de cachet* and arbitrary imprisonments had not existed in the memory

of many yet living, and of some yet regretting their loss.

By an odd anomaly, while the manners of society have become much purer, the theatre, which is supposed to reflect those manners, has become more licentious both in its language and in the intrigue of its pieces. All the sentimental difficulties, the delicate dilemmas, the nice distinctions of the Marquises and the Countesses of *la haute comédie*, have been obliged to give way to the popularity of pieces, whose plot as well as whose dialogue would not have been suffered on the *public* theatre by the chaste ears of the intimate society of Louis XV. (1)

While no consideration for the feelings or the sufferings of the people existed in the government, the greatest delicacy was observed in order to avoid hurting either on the stage: — now, all the follies and all the horrors of the Revolution

(1) I say on the *public* theatre: for the pieces admitted to representation on private theatres in the first company, at that period see the account given by Collé, the author of some of the most admired farces of this kind, on whose profligacy and licentiousness he was himself the first, and perhaps the *only* one, to remark. — *Collé's Memoirs*, *passim*.

are dramatized on their most frequented theatres. Crowded and delighted audiences applaud scenes, in which all the assistants (past the age of forty-five) must, or might, have been actors or spectators—must have seen or experienced in their own persons, or in those of their nearest relatives, the dangers and the sufferings exhibited before them. Such the "*Maison du Rempart*," (1) which, though peopled with the personages of the Fronde, brings a rabble of Paris on the stage, armed with all sorts of domestic weapons, and pulling down the house of a quiet citizen about his ears: such "*Avant, Pendant, and Après*," which exhibits with much wit, the insolence and the immorality of *Avant*, and the republican horrors and fooleries of *Pendant*: such "*Sept Heures*," where the episode of Charlotte Corday, in the infamous and degraded life of Marat, is deprived of the only interest it could inspire, by making her dagger

(1) "La Maison du Rempart," acted at the Théâtre des Nouveautés; "*Avant, Pendant, et Après*," by Scribe, acted forty-seven times at the Vaudeville Theatre, and then stopped by an order of the Police; "*Sept Heures*," acted at the theatre of the Porte St. Martin.

directed by revenge for the death of a lover, instead of leaving the fact as it really was—an exaltation of patriotism, and a hatred of the horrors she saw around her, in a young, ardent, and uninformed mind.

By the happy versatility which on no occasion, nor in any circumstances, seems to desert the French character, they have, however, emancipated their theatre from all the classical trammels, and from all the modern formalities to which their tragedy was so long subjected. They have received the muse of Shakspeare with open arms, and are endeavouring to follow (at an unmeasurable distance) the star which has, at last appeared to them from the banks of the Avon. They have at once given up the unities of Aristotle, and the etiquettes of the court of Louis the Fourteenth; and, in their attempt at historical drama, are more in danger of falling into untheatrical atrocities, than into their former inflated sentiments, long monologues, and wordy expressions of passion.

France, indeed, may be said to be now reaping the only advantages she could ever receive from

emigration, and from her long warfare in all parts of Europe,—the removal of many local prejudices, and a great change in the domestic habits of the least corrigible part of her population. This change is manifest in the more frugal and regular habits of the upper orders of society, the more equal distribution of their whole expenditure, and in a preference to the habitual comforts of life rather than occasional show and magnificence. Instead of a train of unnecessary servants, those only are retained for whom they have employment; they are better paid than formerly, and are treated with less familiarity, though with more consideration. But as every condition of society has its disadvantages, little remains of the patriarchal attachment of generations of servants to generations of masters,—of persons having lived and died in the service of those whose birth they had witnessed, and whose fortunes they had followed; and France may, probably, soon experience the same inconvenience as England, from the perfect independence and political equality of an order of people, brought too nearly into contact with their supe-

riors not to catch their faults, without the power of acquiring, likewise, their redeeming merits.

The same improved taste for convenience, instead of show, has led to the general adoption of the fashions of their English neighbours in their carriages and equipage. Light, easy, plain carriages, equally suited for town or country, have universally succeeded to the vehicles, all gilding without and all velvet within, which formerly filled the streets of Paris, while calashes, britchkas, and every borrowed form of open carriage, have superseded the awkward *chaise de poste Française* on their public roads. The stable expenses of the opulent comprise every thing that is necessary for use and comfort, without running into those lavish, and often disgraceful, sums squandered on coachmakers and horse dealers in England: nor does a fashionable and distinguished existence in the first society of Paris at all depend on the carriage which conveys any individual to that society, or the appointments of the servants that accompany it. However conducted to the salon, the most perfect equality of rights to please, and to be

pleased, takes place when there : there, neither the old nobility reclaim any exclusive rights, nor the new expect any.

It has been said, and truly, that architecture witnesses to the political and social state of a country more than any other contemporary evidence. The buildings of all the principal towns in Italy might be cited as furnishing proofs of this assertion. The enormous structures of ancient Rome, which still puzzle all modern conceptions of magnificence either to occupy or to people, prove a population of slaves, working at the will of despotic power for their daily subsistence. The hardly less vast remains of the papal grandeur of Rome, equally prove unwieldy and unwholesome wealth collected among a few, and devoting to sordid poverty the many. The severe prison-like palaces of Florence, with their high and small windows, and their square tower, at once for defence and for the power of breathing a freer air than in the dull chambers below, betray the want of security, and the turbulent manners of a republic, whose chiefs could never agree among themselves, nor

ever succeed in subduing the spirit of an industrious people, blessed with a favoured soil and climate.

The more modern architecture of France will equally tell its own story. The immense and magnificent houses which existed in every quarter of Paris, date from times, when partial taxes, partial immunities, and the uncontrolled will and favour of weak sovereigns, had raised up a nobility too powerful for the crown, and no less oppressive to the people. When the strong arm of arbitrary power at last succeeded in reducing these nobles to political insignificance, their ambition was confined to court favour, and their means of distinction to a luxury and magnificence which, being securely guarded by exclusive privileges, neither industry nor merit could ever possibly attain, or even hope to rival. Hence we see a whole quarter of the metropolis, in which the habitations of the *tiers etat* occupy as small a share, and are kept as much out of sight, as their rights, their convenience, and their comforts were in the government of their country — whole streets of high walls surround-

ing large enclosures, which defended their inhabitants from the necessity of ever coming in contact with their inferiors, and too surely gave token of the line of demarcation existing in society between a nobility assuming rights sustained only by possession, and a people deprived of rights which no possession can forfeit.

Already, before the end of the reign of Louis the Fifteenth, many of these enormous mansions, however well suited for great fêtes and entertainments, had been found very inconvenient for the domestic purposes of their owners: selfish indulgence found its account in smaller habitations, which could only hold those who were to minister to its gratifications; hence sprung up a number of pavilions, ornamented with porticoes and pediments, and columns without, but within, untenable for the occupation of a family; — sufficiently demonstrative of the careless prodigality and selfish luxury of the day.

What it has been agreed to call Grecian taste was then quite new in France, and every thing was to be *à la Grecque*. It was not till a more intimate acquaintance with Italy and with

Greece, taught them that a heathen chapel large enough to contain the priest and the statue of his God, was incompatible with the lodging a Christian family, and that in all attempts at enlarging the size, or altering the position of such ancient buildings, that beauty is lost, which at best can ill compensate for the want of internal conveniences in habitual life.

During the disorders and confiscations of the revolution, most of the great hotels of Paris, becoming national property, changed both inhabitants and owners. On the return to peaceable times, those which had not been converted into public offices, or appropriated to the abodes of the ministers of the crown, or irrevocably alienated by the sale of national property, were restored to their original proprietors. But to the altered habits of the time, and the altered succession of property, they have been found so ill suited, that in many instances they have been converted into two or three separate habitations ; these, from their internal arrangements being more compact, allow of their rooms being better lighted, more thoroughly warmed, and more

capable of constant occupation, than could ever have been the vast *salons dorés* of the former edifices, of which these houses form sometimes little more than a wing, or even an apartment.

However, in spite of the two opposite excesses that we have mentioned in the domestic architecture of France, it is still in Paris that we must look for the most admirable models of a town residence, where sufficient space is allowed, both before and behind, for a free circulation of air, for a seclusion from too immediate neighbours, and for the luxury of reposing the eye on verdure and vegetation, in the midst of a great city — where carriages approach under cover, and persons on foot are protected from the weather, before they are admitted into the apartments — where all the rooms habitually occupied are on the same floor — of a size capable of every social enjoyment, and with separate communications, allowing of the attendance of servants in the immediate neighbourhood of their required services. If we add to this accommodation for carriages and horses within the same enclosure, separated from those of others, we must allow

that, in the rival luxuries of the two metropolis's, there is nothing so much to envy, and in nothing are we so much surpassed as in our town residences. And here again architecture may tell the tale of a great commercial as well as manufacturing city, where the ground has been long too valuable to be expended in gardens and courts — where the *tiers etat* is as conspicuously placed, and in (proportion) better lodged than the nobles, whose habitations are on all sides hemmed in by plebeians, fast rising to every distinction possessed by their great neighbour whose, ancestor, perhaps, acquired those distinctions by the very same means ; — of a nation where every man possessed of wealth has long preferred the country as the scene of his enjoyments and his luxuries, considering London as only affording the means to industry and ambition, of securing, in time, such an existence in the country, as will give its owner every right possessed by his noble neighbour in London.

Admitting architecture still as an evidence of the political and social state of a country : the

buildings and repairs going on in every little town and village in France, the great extension of the Fauxbourgs of Paris, the infinite number of small houses for single families, springing up in the immediate neighbourhood of all the great towns, and the immense increase of such houses in Paris, prove what the subdivision and change of property caused by the Revolution, the equality of public burthens, and the chartered rights of the people, have already done in France. It is to these rights, and to the feelings given by the acquisition of property secured by these rights, and not either to her statesmen, or her writers, that France will owe her future political tranquillity, and the final establishment of a representative monarchy. It is these feelings that will confine to rhetorical phrases the visionary schemes of her republicans, will reduce to nullity the more foolish and antiquated doctrines of their opponents, and will for ever rescue her from that anachronism to common sense, an absolute government.

While a regeneration of ideas has taken place, not only in England and in France, but in all

the European states, it must be matter of astonishment to the philosophic observer, that all these states, after fifteen years' peace, should continue to think it either necessary, or advisable, or furthering their own individual prosperity, to constitute themselves in a state of permanent blockade with respect to one another; to beset their frontiers with custom-house fortresses, guarded by an army of officers, paid by each state for impeding commerce, and preventing the produce of one country from being immediately bartered for that of another, with mutual advantage, and the relief of mutual wants: while, at the same time, the peaceful, unarmed inhabitants of these states, require a licence to carry their industry and their riches, or their wants and their miseries, where they may best obviate the one or relieve the other.

If any statesman could abstract himself from the common and vulgar ideas of encouraging commerce by duties or by bounties, or could look beyond the necessity of an immediately productive taxation; if a country could for a moment be considered as a great landed estate, of which

its stewards (the government) were appointed to make the most, and procure the greatest affluence at once to the landlord (the sovereign) and to the tenants (the people), would it ever be attempted, by preventing the produce of the estate from being freely sold, to purchase what grew more abundantly, or was cultivated with less cost on a contiguous property? would it be, by attempting to throw impediments on the occasional egress or ingress of tenants for their improvement, emolument, or pleasure? would it be by subtracting a considerable part of those tenants from all useful labour, and subsisting them on the wages of the others? Yet what else are all prohibitory systems of commerce? what else are custom-houses, passports, and standing armies? Let not these ideas, however, be considered as utopian dreams. Nobody endued with common sense can suppose that either custom-houses, passports, or standing armies can be entirely done away with, any more than taxes and public revenue; but it may surely be recommended to statesmen to recur more frequently in their combinations to

these first simple irrefragable principles, and to assure themselves, that the less they are lost sight of, the nearer their measures approximate to them, the more permanent and useful they are likely to prove — the more essentially profitable to the interests of the country for which they act.

France had much to destroy, much rubbish to remove, before she could set about the re-edification of her political existence made necessary by long and complicated abuses. England had little to gain, and much to lose by any conflicts either with herself or her neighbours :—her prosperity, after the total emancipation of her American colonies, might have taught her a great and useful lesson, which, if nations profited by experience, would have led to the earlier relief of Ireland from all political disabilities. The excesses of revolutionary France repressed the discontents of England, restored her to a sense of her real advantages, and allowed her to profit by the immense increase of her commerce, and by the wealth poured into her funds in consequence of the disturbed state of the continent.

These combined causes masked to her people, and disguised even to the eyes of her ministers, the frightful expenditure of the repeated ill-conducted coalitions against France, and prevented any just calculation of half the weight of its consequences.

One great and severe draft on the finances of a country, however difficult and embarrassing at the moment, is soon recovered ; France, therefore, has long ceased to feel the seven hundred millions which her vertigo of a hundred days had cost her. But when will England recover from the effects of an annual public expenditure not compatible with her means, during a peaceful existence ? When will the habits of luxury and indulgence in private life, and of careless dissipation of the public fortune, acquired during a depreciated currency and a fictitious opulence — when will they yield to, and how will they meet the increasing demands on the whole body of proprietors for the support of an increasing and unemployed population ?

The successful application of science to the common purposes of life—the wonders performed

by steam and by machinery in annihilating distance and doubling the produce of labour — the improvements in diet and habits of cleanliness materially obviating much disease, and considerably increasing the chances of human life — the general extension of education, all these advantages combine towards forming an universally improved state of human existence.

That they should be accompanied by many difficulties, and appear to lead (at no very distant period) to much unavoidable distress, is perhaps one of the strongest proofs given by Omnipotence of the finite powers and nature of man. With every thing improving around him — with every view expanding, every pursuit successful — the mistakes of former times recognised and avoided, this very success seems necessarily to conceal within it the seeds of what must for ever prevent the possibility of carrying beyond certain limits, the immeasurable hopes, unbounded wishes, and noblest aspirations of our nature.

If, in comparing the general effects which have arisen, and the situation in which England and France are placed, from the political agitations

of the last forty years, we should be led to consider our country as indicating some degree of the inactivity and languor of advancing years, and the long undisturbed enjoyment of political liberty ; if the other country manifests the petulance of youth, and the impatience of novelty, in the pursuit and acquirement of all the advantages their activity and abilities lead them to attempt ; — we must surely allow that the combined will of two such countries, the immense influence of such a mass of intellectual superiority joined to such imposing political force, must and ought to dictate to Europe ; to constitute the intellectual soul of an enlightened world ; to be improved by their science, to be enriched by their discoveries, and to be advanced by their example in all the great principles of civil liberty and social happiness. A liberal and informed policy will teach such an association to abstain from all interference with the domestic or commercial arrangements of other nations, or with any internal changes of government, which an independent people may deem necessary for their welfare ; while the weight of such

a combination of influence and authority may effectually prevent the meditated changes from molesting or embroiling their neighbours.

If England and France, from paltry jealousies of power, from ill-calculated commercial rivalry, or from any selfish individual ambition, refuse this high calling ; refuse to unite their powers in placing themselves at the head of the intellectual world and assuming this universal sovereignty—the only one possible,—what dominion, what glory can either ever hope to attain comparable to such a destiny ! What honours equal to such an association ! What approach can ever be made towards the supposed perfectibility of our species that can equal the allied intellectual power of England and France — enlightened as to their own real interests, and combined to encourage, to foster, and to protect, the general interests of human nature !

*St. Germain,
June 1830.*

CHAP. VII.

WITH the concluding sentiments of the last chapter the author meant to have closed these considerations, and to have left to statesmen and politicians their further developement, and the application of their results to the affairs of the two countries in question ; but having been present at the marvellous events which lately took place in the political existence of France, the author feels it impossible not to notice so remarkable a passage in the civil history of mankind, and so striking a change in the character and conduct of the nation where it took place.

A king of France, reigning in undisturbed splendour and unquestioned authority on Sunday the 25th of July, and on Sunday the 1st of August, in one little week, the same being having become a fugitive without power and without

rights, hardly allowed to remain two days longer in the disturbed and uncertain occupation of the most distant of his palaces. These events seem more like the necromantic catastrophe of an eastern tale, than facts actually taking place in the most regularly organised European government. The inhabitants of a great luxurious capital defending themselves without arms and without leaders above thirty-six hours against regularly trained and perfectly appointed troops, and in the next twenty-four hours, when partially armed and partially led, driving these troops before them and taking entire military possession of the metropolis entrusted to their guard, are events which, thus stated in their result only, sound like romance ; and having been present at the scenes, and a witness of their consequences, scarcely lessens the wonder they excite, and still leaves them hardly credible.

A yet more remarkable circumstance follows these military triumphs ; — a perfect moderation and absence of all unnecessary violence, all desire of bloodshed, all intemperance of valour in the moment of conquest, and an equal

absence of all enthusiasm and exaggeration in the measures taken in consequence of the uncontrolled power left in the hands of the conquerors. This is such a new view of the French national character, and, indeed, is so entirely unlike the conduct of any other nation hitherto placed in any thing like similar circumstances, that even a recapitulation of the immediate causes of discontent and of the previous situation of the public mind will scarcely be found adequate to such stupendous effects.

France, although in a state of immense general prosperity, had been for the last three or four years accumulating much political discontent and suppressed ill-will against the government. The general causes for this discontent, already enumerated in Chapter V., were increased by their duration, and by the unvarying spirit which seemed to animate all the ministers called to the administration of the government. That of M. de Villele, by far the longest lived, after existing nearly six years, became particularly obnoxious from its supposed protection of the Jesuits, and its concurrence in the views of the court to allow

an undue influence to the clergy, or what was designated politically *Le parti prêtre*.

From the manner in which a few broken windows and an insignificant riot had been suppressed in the Rue St. Denis during the winter of 1827, the people acquired the assurance that there would be no backwardness, either in the ministry or the court, to apply military force on the smallest expression of popular discontent.

The succeeding administration, in which M. de la Ferronaye was at the head of the foreign affairs, and M. de Martignac minister of the interior, was at first popular, at least appeared so; after the dismissal of that, which had been designated by the epithet of the *ministère déplorable*. On the retreat of M. de la Ferronaye, from illness, the indecision and delays in the choice of his successor gave suspicion of an intention of replacing him by the Prince de Polignac; the idea was already so unpopular as to be dropped for the moment.

The king's progress into Alsace, in the following summer, accompanied by the minister of the interior, was successful in advancing for the

moment the popularity both of the king and of the minister. The wishes of the people seemed to be better understood by the court, and the court less suspected by the people. But when the chambers met in the ensuing session, the ministry fell into disgrace with the liberals, for not bringing forward long promised popular measures; and out of favour with the court for too great condescension to popular opinion.

The departmental and municipal laws, which the country had long and anxiously looked to as necessary to its internal prosperity, and as the only means of creating a public opinion, were at last proposed by government. They were violently opposed by the liberal party in the Chamber of Deputies, as inverting the order in which they ought to take place, and allowing an opening to despotic application. The government, when they found a difficulty of carrying their measures without the proposed amendments, instead of endeavouring to conciliate, or to yield any points to public opinion, immediately withdrew the proposal altogether; and as the initiative of the laws then belonged only to the govern-

ment, the people were left without any hope of seeing these measures renewed.

In the whole of this transaction, both parties seem to have betrayed much ignorance of the due administration of a representative government: the deputies, by not accepting what was offered them, and thereby placing themselves on the vantage ground, where more might have been obtained; the government, in betraying an unwillingness to listen to any modifications of the chambers. In the same ill-understood conduct of public business was the attack made on Peyronnet the keeper of the seals, on the subsequent discussion of the budget, for the appropriation of a sum of 35,000 francs of public money in addition to that already allowed by government for the arrangements of the House belonging to his office. However necessary and proper the establishing the principle of culpability in any such diversion of public money, the manner in which the enquiry was conducted was factious, minute, and invidious. The fall of a ministry, and the dissolution of a chamber, which neither pleased

the court, nor satisfied the country, were unavoidable. Not so the new ministry, which was immediately declared, with the Prince de Polignac at its head. Nobody conceived that such a combination of obnoxious names would have been ventured on at once. The press, which had been moderate, and had advocated sufficiently sound doctrines during the ministry of Martignac, now varied every possible form of abuse and contempt against Polignac and his associates, carefully avoiding, however, all disrespect to royalty, and professing great attachment and loyalty to the king. Before the new chamber met on the 8th of March 1830, the great majority of liberal members which it contained, their independent spirit, and the general colour of their sentiments were well known. The king's speech unwisely alluded to them, and to the means with which he meant to meet them. The Chamber of Deputies after the usual complimentary professions, declared that they could concur in none of the measures proposed to them, until the ministry was changed. Now as the ministry since their appointment

had remained positively inert, they were guiltless of any measures good or bad, and could only be attacked as to intention. No sovereign could have complied with a request, to dismiss his ministers so made, and in such circumstances ; but instead of a temperate, dignified negative from the throne, a few dry, severe words were addressed to the chambers, and they were dissolved after a session of ten days. Here again the same ignorance of the conduct of a representative government seems evident. Unluckily too, the Prince of Polignac had evinced, in the only attempt he made at public speaking, such an absence of all method, argument, or facility of language, as proved him quite unequal to defending either his own measures, or those of his colleagues, from the tribune. Still the public press respected the king, he was always separated from his ministers and advisers in the various and inexhaustible diatribes of the diurnal press, not only of Paris, but of every city in France. To stop this torrent of abuse the editors were prosecuted in almost every court in the kingdom. These trials gave occasion to the public discus-

sion of the principles which the accused supported, and were sure to secure the editors from greater punishment than a few days' seclusion, and an insignificant fine. In short, as the ministers afterwards allowed in their fatal *Rapport au Roi*, the laws were found quite inadequate to suppress the voice of the people; — and yet these infatuated men were themselves deaf to that voice, and conceived themselves above those laws.

The two or three daily papers written in the interest of the court (often with much acuteness), professed principles and doctrines worthy of the seventeenth century as to regal power and government; daring openly to abjure every measure which inferred any acknowledgment of the sovereignty of the people in their representatives. The sentiments of the *Gazette de France* on these subjects up to the latest moment of its existence under the reign of Charles the Tenth, is a curious monument of the perversion of human intellect, even in the most enlightened periods.

In the mean time the better informed heads of

France were aware, that till the first principle of all government was fairly acknowledged,—till the ridiculous idea had been done away with, that a portion of liberty, retractable at will, had been conceded (*octroyé*) by a prince who at his restoration had no power to bestow, and was in fact himself received only, *dum bene placito*, — in short, till the charter became a fair contract between the king and the people, they must be always mutually accusing each other ; on the one side of factious attempts, and on the other of arbitrary intentions. An occasion only was wanting to bring about this necessary revision of the charter ; but, for this occasion, it was much doubted that the court would give any plausible pretext. Many people thought, and as many feared, that on the meeting of the chambers summoned for the third of August, the court would think it advisable to use more conciliatory language — the deputies be less peremptory in their demands ; — that the ministers would bring forward some popular measures, and that thus things might rub on much as they had done.

No one, no one, I am intimately convinced, from the Duke of Orleans downward, either foresaw, or suspected the incalculable imprudence of the ministers, or the astonishing effects to be produced by it.

The success of the expedition to Algiers, was the drop that overflowed the measure of self-sufficiency and confidence on the part of the ministry. The lustre of the conquest their ignorance fancied would flatter the vanity of the people, and blind the eyes of their representatives to what was going on at home; while the treasures of the Dey encouraged the Court in the vain idea of having secured the means of carrying on their plans, without any immediate application for money.

That the most enlightened among the patriots of France had begun to consider what measures were to be kept with a ministry who abjured all concessions, and a king who boasted that he would never recede, we cannot doubt; that in their meditations on this subject, and on its possible consequences, they must often have recurred to the lucky circumstance of the existence of a

prince, possessing the advantages of hereditary rights, but differing in education, in character, in endowments, in every thing that can distinguish an individual in a race of princes. This prince, deservedly esteemed by all those sufficiently independent of the court to be free from its influence ; having passed honourably through the severest trials of the school of adversity, whence he had drawn a great knowledge of human nature, and an intimate acquaintance with his native country, both generally and individually,—it must have been obvious that such a prince, surrounded by a numerous and well educated family, perfectly independent of the court, and of its favours, by his large hereditary possessions, and by their well-regulated administration, gave every security the nation could require for assisting her in the revision of her charter, and for its establishment on the true principles of a contract between the governor and the governed : that the Duke of Orleans, on his part, aware of the wants and wishes of his country, partaking of its ideas of civil liberty, an observing witness of the vacillating measures and

crooked policy of the restored government,—that he should not have considered the part he might be called upon to act, by the incorrigible blindness of the court,—it is impossible not to believe. His cautious, prudent, penetrating character, must often have presented to him the possible results of his situation in the country, and probably may have anticipated to him his present elevation : but that any combination was formed between him and the liberal members of the two chambers, before the late revolution, either to push matters to extremity, or in any foreseen and previously arranged case, to place him on the throne — history, when the marvellous events of these days are submitted to her calm observation, and severe scrutiny, will entirely absolve both him and his adherents. That he had been long an object of suspicion to the court — that, although exact in the performance of all ceremonial duties towards it, no cordiality existed in their familiar intercourse, was well known. Louis the Eighteenth had remonstrated against the Duke of Orleans sending his son to participate in the education given in a

public college at Paris; and Charles the Tenth saw, with a jealous eye, persons of distinguished merit in every order of the state well received at Neuilly, and at the Palais Royal, and the public profiting of every occasion to mark their respect both for him and his family. Under these circumstances we cannot wonder, that, when the ordinances of the 25th of July were determined on, and conscience suggested to their authors a possibility of some resistance, that it likewise suggested the necessity of securing the person of the Duke of Orleans. This intention was communicated (for we cannot call it betrayed) by the wife of a deputy to the Duchess of Orleans. The means the Duke took to preserve his personal liberty, was by mounting his horse in the morning, and riding about the country the whole day. When a deputation from the praise-worthy citizens, who, during the week of revolution, had constituted themselves into a provisional government at the Hôtel de Ville, came to desire his presence and assistance, he was on one of these expeditions, and his family absolutely ignorant where to find him; a fact which the deputation seemed so

little to believe, that his sister, with a readiness doubly graceful in so quiet and unassuming a character, offered to accompany the messengers to the Hôtel de Ville, and remain there till her brother made his appearance. Late in the evening of that day, the 30th of July, he walked unaccompanied from Neuilly into Paris, and slept at the Palais Royal. On the next morning he went, surrounded by multitudes, to the Hôtel de Ville, where he was received at the door with open arms by La Fayette ; and from that moment, and not before, the crown of France was assured to him. Had La Fayette received him coolly, instead of earnestly seconding his nomination to the Lieutenant-Generalcy of the kingdom,—had he himself hesitated a moment in unqualified obedience to the wishes of the people,—France would have been a republic, with La Fayette, in the first instance, at its head ; and honour is due to the veteran, who, conscious of his power, sacrificed both his republican prejudices and his own elevation in that decisive moment.

It is not meant here to recapitulate the circumstances which immediately preceded or followed the Duke of Orleans's elevation to the throne. They have been stated in various accounts, and will in future constitute the most interesting pages of the history of France. But on the state of public feeling—on the remarkable character of reason and calmness, which accompanied these transactions—on the total change which had taken place in the conduct and the views of the French nation from the revolution in 1789, we may be allowed to remark.

Ten days after Paris had seen her whole population in arms, and her streets stained with the blood of her citizens,—on the 7th August, when the Chamber of Deputies were actually debating on the form of government to be adopted, and were called on to decide (and that without delay), on the future sovereign to be placed at its head,—the town and its suburbs were perfectly tranquil; labourers were at their work; and the daily occupations of a great metropolis were going on as usual. Round the

door of the Chamber of Deputies two or three hundred decently-dressed persons were assembled, anxiously waiting their decision. When it was made known to them by some persons from within, it was received with universal satisfaction, but without any noisy marks of exultation. The whole body of deputies immediately proceeded to the Palais Royal to announce the result of their deliberations. They went on foot, with no other accompaniment than a few national guards, and many of the persons who had been surrounding their doors. Their passage through the most populous streets was uninterrupted either by acclamation or abuse. The citizens seemed satisfied with the business their representatives were transacting for them, and left it to them to complete. In the courts of the Palais Royal another crowd was waiting their arrival, in the same contented mood, and with the same absence of all excitation.

Two days afterwards, on the 9th of August, when the Duke of Orleans came to receive the crown of France from the peers and deputies assembled, and to swear observance of the terms

on which alone it was offered, the whole transaction, instead of a court pageant, bore the character of a solemn transfer between two contracting parties, of vital interests, deliberately stated and distinctly understood on both sides. The absence of all military but the national guard, deprived it of splendour; and the greatness of the occasion, and the serious attention of all the persons concerned, showed it to be no formal, hackneyed ceremony, to be forgotten as soon as over.

In the circular gallery allotted to the spectators, which surrounded the hall where the two chambers were assembled, in a part of it undistinguished from the rest by any decoration, appeared the Duchess of Orleans, with the Duke's sister, and all his children, excepting the two eldest sons, who were placed during the whole ceremony on each side of their father. The unobtrusive dress and demeanour of the whole family,—the absence of every appearance of exultation in the circumstances in which they were placed,—their undivided attention to what was going on, and the serious air with which

the whole scene was regarded by them, — were remarked even by those the most occupied in the important business of the day. The vacant throne from which every vestige of a fleur-de-lis had disappeared, under the tri-coloured drapery with which alone it was canopied, seemed to suggest to their thoughtful minds a recent and striking instance of the instability of all human greatness.

At the revolution of 1789, the profound corruption which then pervaded every order of the state produced the dissolution of the whole social body. All rights, all privileges, all associations were attacked, and were still attempted to be defended, until ruthless anarchy involved aggressors and aggrieved in one common ruin, and then exalted terror as the only means of securing liberty to the abject slaves it had made.

Far different was the situation of the country when it effected the marvellous revolution which we have just witnessed. France, with a regenerated people, had enjoyed fifteen years' peace under the restored government of the

Bourbons. The national vanity had been offended at their returning with Europe in arms, but felt assured against any open attacks on that liberty which Louis the Eighteenth boasted having bestowed. While, unfortunately, both he and his counsellors were too blind and too narrow-minded to act in the spirit of his charter, or to be satisfied with the power it left in their hands. Great general prosperity had arisen from the subdivision of landed property, and from the security at last felt in the possession of national domains. The remembrance of their former sufferings, the atrocities of their republic, the disgrace of their directory, their ruinous dreams of conquest and military despotism, had already become history to the more reasoning and better educated population of the present day.

The blessing of peace, the security of personal liberty, and the enjoyment of the fruits of their industry, were so justly appreciated, that nothing less than the monstrous and infatuated attack made at once on all the rights they most valued, could have called forth the sudden and signal vengeance which such incorrigible per-

versity provoked. But this vengeance was confined to the prince, who had excited it, and to the ministers, who had weakly and basely made themselves his instruments. No body of people were obnoxious, no individuals, but the ministers, and a few dignitaries of the church, who were supposed to have inculcated jesuitical doctrines, and to have encouraged the King, and his favourite minister, in arbitrary measures, and attempts to re-establish the lost authority of the church. The palace of the Archbishop of Paris was the only building, public or private, on which the people wreaked their vengeance during the memorable days of July. And here no robbery was committed, but the whole furniture and interior of the house pulled to pieces, and, together with the books of the library, left strewed about the floors. Summary justice was administered by the people on those among them (and they were few) who were detected pillaging or secreting any articles of value, even during those moments of confusion. At the Tuilleries some busts of Charles the Tenth, and the wardrobe of his family, were all that was touched by the people,

armed and unarmed, who rushed through the apartments of that palace on the 29th of July. The busts were thrown out of the windows ; and the scattered female attire served to dress up some of the rabble, who appeared, thus accoutred, at the windows, to the no small amusement of the crowd below.(1)

Wine or spirits they avoided, and rejected when offered ; so afraid did they seem of being led into excesses which might make them disgrace their cause, or incapacitate them from its accomplishment.(2)

(1) At one of the windows of the Duchesse de Berri's appartement in the Pavillon Marsan, where a magnificent ball had been given, not six weeks before, to the two courts of Naples and France, a man appeared in a silver gauze gown, and a hat with high feathers, his face covered with rouge, calling to his companions below, " Venez, messieurs, je reçois, je reçois ! "

(2) On the Boulevard, almost immediately at the corner of the Porte St. Martin, where a murderous attack was kept up by the people, mounted on the projecting parts of the arch, on the troops below, who were thus placed between two fires, the mistress of a little pastry-cook's shop, who with her family had retired to the farthest part of their small tenement, to avoid the balls which flew around them,

A people thus conducting themselves — thus resisting both intemperance and pillage — guiltless of any outrages on individuals, or any destruction of property, but what was absolutely unavoidable in the pursuit of their purpose, forms a striking and remarkable contrast with the same people in 1790, — besieging their king in his palace, and their own deputies in their Chamber, — encouraging violence, and justifying bloodshed, by their murderous and cruel punishment of individuals, and by their attempted destruction of every thing that most honoured and distinguished their country, — bewildered by the most extravagant and flimsy sophisms, and led by the vilest demagogues, who ended by covering their country with scaffolds, and deluging it with blood.

On the late occasion, the moment the arms

were at last summoned to their door by such knocking as they dared not refuse. It was merely to implore a draught of water, of which the woman declared she had given away during the night eighty buckets, in single goblets, indiscriminately to the people and the troops, equally dying of thirst, and rejecting wine.

were out of the hands of the people, and the city in complete possession of its inhabitants, every thing returned, as if by magic, to its natural course. On the Monday of the week succeeding that of the revolution, while the streets were yet rough with the unreplaced stones which had served for the barricades, and the leaves were yet green on the trees which strewed the Boulevards for the same purpose, the shops were all open, the business of a great town going on, and every body quietly wondering and rejoicing at what had taken place. In the garden of the Tuileries not a flower-bud was injured, not an orange-tub displaced, although, four days before, horse, foot, and artillery of the royal guard had been driven through them pell-mell, pursued by the impetuous and irresistible rush of the triumphant people. Certain it is, however, that these troops were as much morally as physically vanquished. They fought without either obstinacy or spirit. Resistance had been so little calculated on by the court, that no precautions had been taken to supply the immediate wants of the troops they

employed. They were exhausted by hunger and thirst ; they hated the service on which they were engaged, and were affected by the overwhelming heat of the weather, which passed unheeded by their opponents, during the excitation of their valorous resistance. A considerable body of the guards, who had been marched from St. Cloud, and who had not yet been called on to act, were lying in the Champs Elysées, already complaining of fatigue and exhaustion : when they were at length (not without some difficulty) brought up to the garden-front of the Tuileries to support their comrades in the Place de Carousel, and assist in defending the palace from the fierce assault of the people on that side. Numbers of hands were thrust through the iron railing of the Rue de Rivoli, with a five-franc piece, offered in vain, for sustenance of any kind, while the wants of the people were eagerly supplied by the whole population not actually with weapons in their hands. These feelings, however, ceased with resistance, and numberless instances could be given of every kind care and attention being paid to the wounds of those who had been

observed bravely to discharge their odious duty. While thus circumstanced, about noon of Thursday, the 29th of July, a party of lancers were observed issuing from the middle gate of the Tuileries, followed by a fourgon with four horses, and evidently very heavily laden; then another party of lancers and a second fourgon followed as before, while three more carriages of the same description took the road by the river side towards St. Cloud. From this moment, it was remarked that all spirit of aggression or of defence seemed to have abandoned the troops, convinced, as they must have been, that their employers now despaired of their cause, by endeavouring thus to secure valuables they had no longer any hope to defend. The flame which had broken forth with such unextinguishable force at Paris, quickly communicated itself to all the surrounding towns and villages. The tri-colour flag, which the restoration had so unwisely rejected, and had thereby converted into a rallying point for certain sentiments, as well as into the colours of a party, — the tri-colour was every where immediately

hoisted by the people ; but so perfectly without opposition, so much with the consent and approbation of the better order of inhabitants, that every thing that followed in consequence was free from the character of malignity and devastation which accompanied the first Revolution. To maintain order, the national guard of every district immediately formed itself. The old uniforms, which had been proscribed for above two years, again made their appearance. Among their numbers were soon enrolled not only the most respectable inhabitants, but hundreds of others, who had no other recommendation but good will to lend their arm to the cause. Their dress and appearance certainly gave no promise of the orderly manner in which they conducted themselves,—half clothed, and less than half armed ; some with a rusty hanger, others with a single pistol or an old gun, hundreds with nothing but a stick ; many without stockings, some without shoes, not a few without hats, and many more without coats ;—such was the appearance of 1500 men who marched into St. Germain on the morning of

the 2d of August, arriving from Rouen, and the surrounding parts of Normandy, to the aid and assistance of their victorious countrymen at Paris. They were divided into six companies, each having a tri-colour flag, of various substance and size, belonging to it, all inscribed *La Chartre*, or merely *Paris*, where, although the combat was over, they persisted in going, to show, as they said, their good will to the cause, and what their deputies had to count upon in case of further resistance. The town of St. Germain was apprised of their arrival. They were immediately marched under the alleys of trees on the terrace, and were, in a moment, all seated around their banners on the grass, and reposing themselves, after a march of four leagues from Mantes. Here, in half an hour, they were supplied by the municipality with a plentiful breakfast of bread, wine, sausages, ham, and other cold meats. One man presided over the distribution to each company. Every body was orderly, in good humour, and satisfied with their fare. Those wearing the uniform of the national guard, and the other well-dressed persons among

them, (of whom there were many, the sons and brothers of the tradespeople in the towns of Normandy,) — these persons were, for the most part, provided for in the inns and private houses of St. Germain : the others never left the shaded alleys of the terrace. After eating and drinking as much as they chose, but with a care to avoid inebriety, which caused a great part of a remaining barrel of wine to be actually emptied on the earth, to exclude the possibility of any abuse of its contents,— they then began dancing, after the fashion of their province, rounds of fifty or sixty men together, to the untuneful music of their own singing ; and afterwards playing at single-stick, for which Normandy, it seems, is famous. The hospitality of St. Germain was not confined to eating and drinking. Between 200 and 300 pairs of shoes had been provided for such as had worn out theirs on the journey, or who had begun it without any. They were, in a few minutes, all appropriated by those whose necessities were certainly undeniable.

After having been thus refreshed and thus

treated, between two and three o'clock they were, by beat of drum (the only music they had with them), recalled every man to his own banner, and were marched away, without leaving a single straggler, as quietly and as orderly as could have been the best equipped and best disciplined regiment of guards.

Of exactly the same complexion were the 20,000 inmates of Paris, who, on the very same day, voluntarily joined the party of national guards which General Pajol was leading to Rambouillet, to hurry the departure of the abdicated King and his family. In the agitated state of the public mind, their personal safety in the neighbourhood of Paris could no longer be assured. Warned of the visit they were about to receive, the departure of the Court anticipated its necessity; and the whole of this vast undisciplined body returned peaceably to Paris, satisfied with having effected their purpose before they had reached the place of their destination; and bringing back with them (for the most part undamaged) the horses and carriages of all descriptions which

they had civilly, but peremptorily, demanded of their owners in the streets of Paris, to aid in conveying them to a distance of thirty miles.

When all these great purposes were effected — when they had banished for ever from the soil of France the abdicated family — when they had seated on the throne a prince of their own choosing, on their own terms — when they had seen their charter reformed, enlarged, and reassured to them, their national guard springing into existence and activity over the whole country, their culpable ministers in prison, and those called to the administration of affairs in the new-modelled monarchy submitted anew to the choice of their fellow-citizens, as their representatives, — in these circumstances, when nothing seemed wanting to their political felicity, the natural mobility of their disposition, their lively and excitable feelings, have been leading them again to risk the peaceful enjoyment of all the blessings in their power. The great body of workmen and artisans, whom the ebullition of the moment had called off from all

sober occupation, and deprived of their daily means of living—the numerous individuals dependent on the employment or the favours of the Court, formed a mass of idle and discontented population, which was prompt to receive any impressions, and to be led into any excesses. Numerous bodies of this description infested their streets, instigated by a daily press, which, having ruled omnipotent in the late convulsion, was unwilling to be reduced to the sober influence allowed to it in a well-established government. The people, too, recently made aware of their power, and having (unfortunately by the misdeeds of the Court) been put into the right as to their late assumption of that power, recurred to the same means to overawe justice, to insult the King of their own choice, and to frighten their sober fellow-citizens. The high-minded forbearance and patient measures of the King have hardly yet repressed these excesses. But now that their institutions are defined, that their government is really actuated by the spirit it professes, they must learn the (perhaps) harder lesson, of placing with confidence such power in

the hands of their sovereign as will enable him to maintain his own rights as well as theirs. Conscious that these rights are imprescriptible, they must surround him with such splendour as will gratify their natural taste for magnificence. They must allow him all the honours and all the attractions which he can no longer misuse, and which no longer lead either to political power or obnoxious privileges. They must convince themselves, that it is not by reducing their King to the condition of a citizen, that they raise their citizens in importance: that the most distant approach to anarchy, to contempt of the laws, or to a government (under whatever name) too weak to defend itself, conducts more surely to despotism, than any power confided to the hands of those legally appointed to exercise it: that the first necessity of a free government is strength; and that both strength and freedom depend on the means of maintaining the institutions of that government against all individual character or preponderance, and against all combinations of circumstance.

What may be the effect of the late revolution,

and the order of things induced by it, on the future social existence of France, it is impossible to foresee. What new æra in the history of civilised man this revolution has probably commenced, is another question, of yet deeper and more serious import.

The population of most of the European states, crowded by a fifteen years' peace, appears to have received a simultaneous impulse.

The great question of numerical majorities marshalled against all exclusive institutions, and against all accumulations of property, seems about to be placed, in the most unequivocal terms, before all the governments of Europe. On the manner in which they receive and reply to these intimations depend such fearful chances as the mind almost recoils from investigating.

On the one side, more popular institutions may be feared, as possibly leading to a want of public peace and security : on the other side, strengthening the arm of power in the old institutions may serve only to envenom opposition; and to produce prolonged disorder. England must not forget that she was long, to France,

the guiding star of liberty. England had her Rebellion, stained, as in France, by the unnecessary sacrifice of her least offending monarch. England, too, had her worthless Restoration, which soon, as in France, ended in the necessary and final dismissal of a family that no misfortunes could either alter, or amend. What England has enjoyed for near a century and a half, France, by her late glorious effort, is now endeavouring to secure and to consolidate. We may feel an honest pride in having thus led the way in the career of enlightened and rational liberty : but it becomes England to watch with jealous attention the language and the conduct of demagogues who, in this as in every other country, seek individual distinction at the price of public tranquillity, and point to the easy (because well deserved) overthrow of the ancient monarchy in France, rather as an example to follow, than as a necessity to avoid.

May both England and France, by the liberal wisdom of their conduct in these difficult circumstances, and by their superior intellectual lights, serve to guide the other European

states as to their real interests, and allow us to witness and to profit by the great changes in political and social existence which are inevitably taking place, unscathed by their effects !

London,
March, 1831.

THE END.

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